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JOAN OF ARC

BY

FRANCIS C. LOWELL

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge

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PREFACE.

To most persons the life of Joan of Arc is unreal, resembling a picturesque legend rather than truthful history. In truth, however, the facts of her real life are known to a somewhat remarkable degree of certainty and in very considerable detail. Pure legends concerning her are, indeed, common enough, — they sprang into existence within a fortnight of her appearance at Charles's court; but their absurdity can be easily detected, not merely by their extravagant improbability, but because they are inconsistent with well-known facts. The life of Joan of Arc affords a striking illustration of two important historical principles: first, that legends require the shortest possible time for their luxuriant growth, — a contemporaneous account being often little less legendary than an account separated from the event by a considerable lapse of time; and second, that the wildest and most improbable legends may exist beside the most definite and well-ascertained historical facts. The popular impression concerning Joan and the existence of these numerous legends have caused me in this book to cite authorities more frequently and more fully than I should otherwise have done.

In the management of proper names I may not hope to have succeeded better than other authors who have written of the history of one country in the language of another. In this matter it is hard to formulate a principle, and impossible to live up to it when formulated without falling into absurdity. For instance, I find it impossible to write of the great ally of the English except as "Philip, duke of Burgundy;" and, if I am to do so, I do not see how I

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can write of Joan's father as "Jacques d'Arc," or of the favorite of Charles VII. as "Georges de la Trémoille." In the fifteenth century, the particle "de" in "de Bourgogne," "d'Arc," and "de la Trémoille" meant, so far as I can perceive, the same thing. I acknowledge, however, that "James of Arc" is an awkward locution, and in the notes, at any rate, I have sometimes left a French name untranslated.

In December, 1895, I delivered at the Lowell Institute four lectures on Joan of Arc, and in preparing them I made free use of the manuscript of this book, copying sentences and pages into the lectures where I thought such use of my material advisable. The invitation to deliver the lectures, however, was given after the book was substantially finished.

January 18, 1896.

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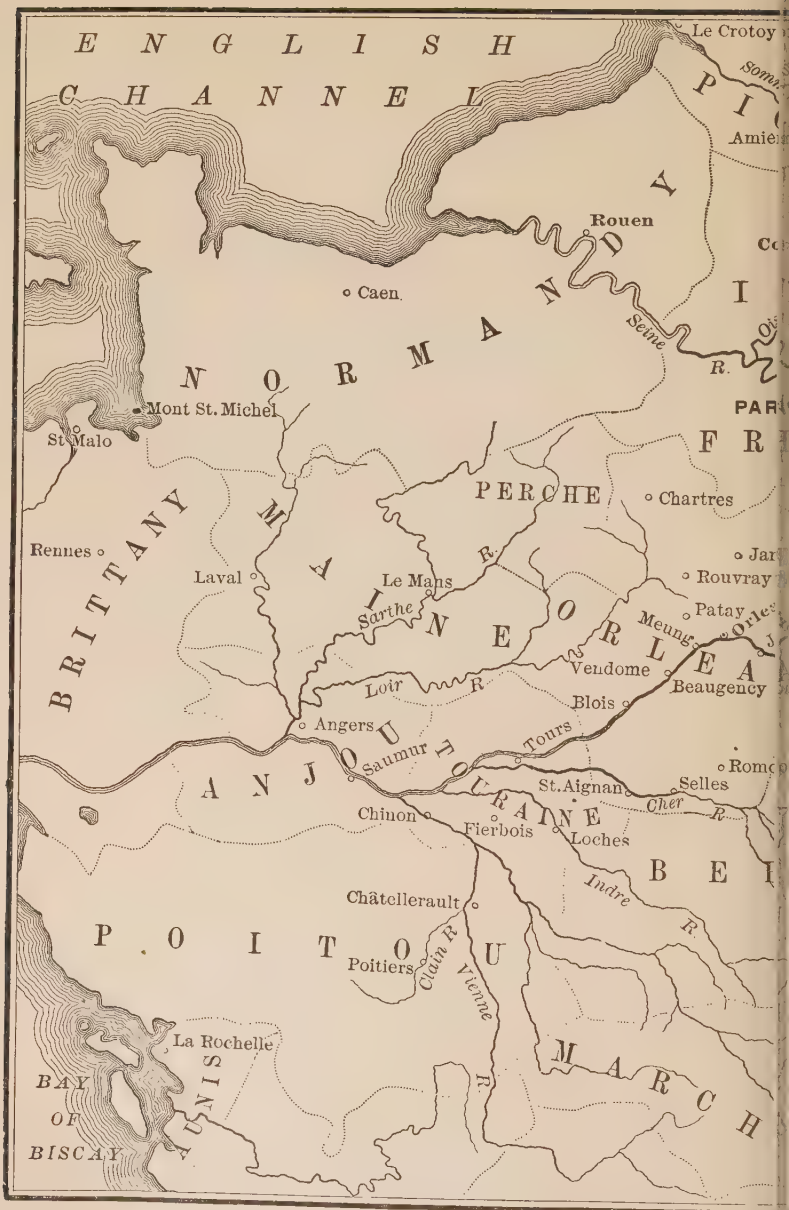
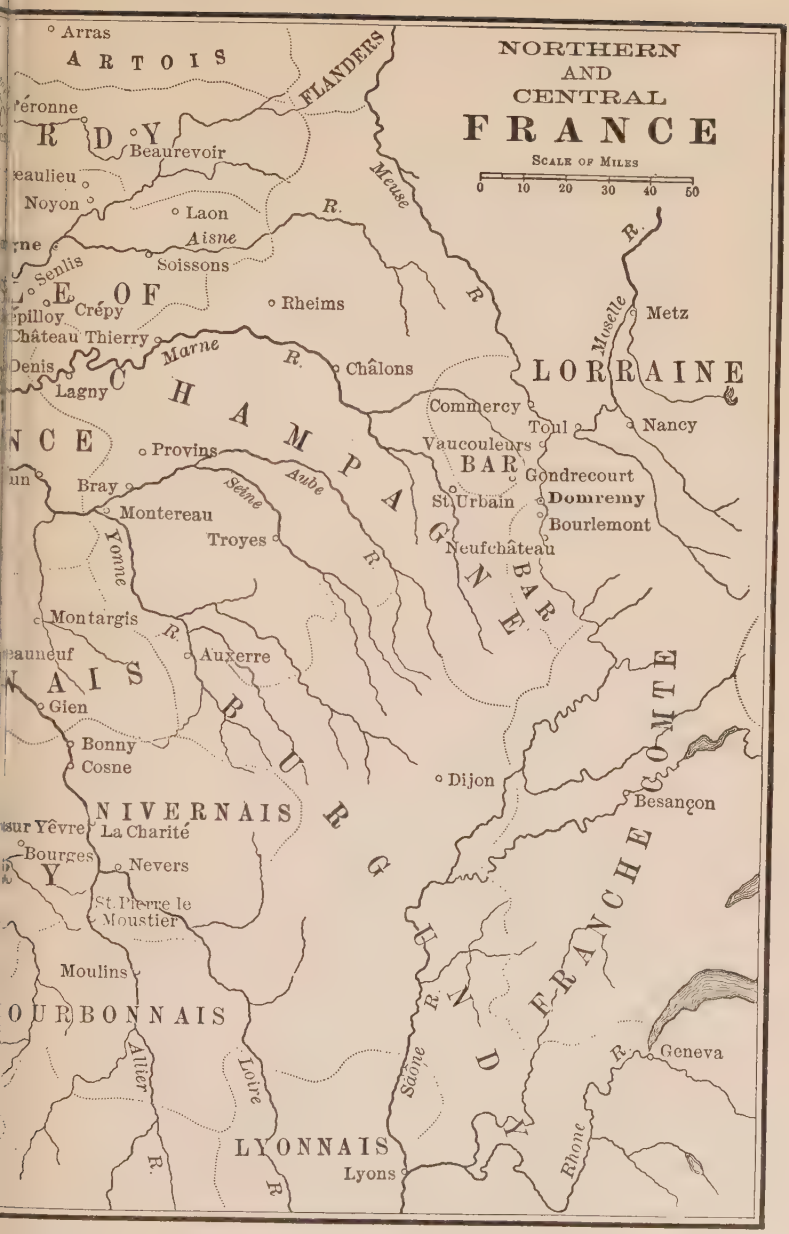
ABBREVIATIONS.

P. = Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, par Jules Quicherat. As P. vi. I have cited " Mémoires & consultations en faveur de Jeanne d'Arc, publiés pour la première fois, par Pierre Lanéry d'Arc." Volume i. of M. Quicherat's work contains the report of Joan's trial ; volumes ii. and iii. the report of her second trial or rehabilitation, with the evidence given therein ; volumes iv. and v. contain all the other historical evidence, approximately contemporary, which he was able to gather concerning her, such as letters, documents, accounts, extracts from the chronicles, etc. In many cases, I have added to my citation of the volume and page of M. Quicherat's work the name of his authority. In volumes ii. and iii. the name is that of a witness testifying at Joan's rehabilitation ; in volumes iv. and v. that of a chronicler or other writer.

Luce = Jeanne d'Arc à Domremy, par Siméon Luce, Paris, 1886, in octavo.

Beaucourt = Histoire de Charles VII., par G. du Fresne de Beaucourt.


ENGLISH CHANNEL
Le Crotoy
Somme R.
Amiens
Rouen
Caen
NORMANDY
Seine R.
Mont St. Michel
St. Malo
PERCHE
Chartres
Rennes
Laval
MAINE
Le Mans
Sarthe R.
Rouvray
Patay
Meung
Vendome
Beaugency
Loir R.
Blois
Angers
Tours
Saumur
ANJOU
TOURAINE
St. Aignan
Selles
Cher R.
Chinon
Fierbois
Loches
Indre R.
Châtellerault
POITOU
Poitiers
Clain R.
Vienne R.
La Rochelle
MARCH
BAY OF BISCAY
PARIS
FRANCE
BRITTANY


NORTHERN
AND
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FRANCE
Scale of Miles
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Arras
ARTOIS
FLANDERS
Péronne
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Noyon
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Aisne R.
Soissons
Senlis
Crépy
Rheims
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Marne R.
Châlons
Lagny
CHAMPAGNE
Provins
Bray
Montereau
Seine R.
Aube R.
Troyes
Yonne R.
Montargis
Auxerre
Gien
Bonny
Cosne
BURGUNDY
Dijon
NIVERNAIS
La Charité
Bourges
Nevers
St. Pierre le Moustier
Moulins
BOURBONNAIS
Allier R.
Loire R.
LYONNAIS
Lyons
Saône R.
Rhone R.
FRANCHE COMTE
Besançon
Geneva
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Metz
LORRAINE
Commercy
Toul
Nancy
Vaucouleurs
BAR
Gondrecourt
Domremy
St. Urbain
Bourlemont
Neufchâteau
BAR

JOAN OF ARC.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONDITION OF FRANCE.

THE personality of Joan of Arc was so strong that her life takes its chief interest therefrom rather than from her surroundings. But no man can exist apart from his circumstances; these must, in any case, be the field of his effort, and, in great measure, must determine the means which he uses, and the end which he proposes to reach. To study the life of Joan of Arc apart from the life of her people and her generation is no less absurd than to regard her as their type.

Before the middle of the fifteenth century France was hardly a nation. Without a common language, and with a boundary shifting and ill-defined, almost its only bond of union was its king, and in much of France the king was little more than a name. In one province he was a great feudal lord with strong castles and great possessions. In the next province the real power was that of some duke or count, who kept royal state, assembled the provincial representatives and treated with them, carried on war against the king, or neglected him altogether. Still another province was under English rule. In the same province, indeed, the conditions changed from time to time. Sometimes the royal domain was granted away, sometimes great feudal appanages reverted to the crown. Normandy was won from the English, Poitou was lost to them.

The cities, then large and numerous throughout France, were usually almost independent of the great lords, and even the royal power was often inferior to that of their local government. The town councils, chosen by the guilds, or by the more prosperous citizens at large, shut the gates against the rude soldiers of both king and lord, maintained agents at their courts, and considered what contribution should be made to the needs of one or the other. Originally the municipal charters had been granted to offset the power of the nobles, and still the cities served this purpose, but if they kept the nobles in check, they checked also the growth of national feeling by substituting for it a strong local pride.

Thus France, a country many times as populous and as rich as England, was overrun by English armies. Then, as in later times, the insular position of England counted for much in the wars it carried on, but it had an advantage quite as great in its fuller national development. To speak of England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a centralized state seems absurd to us to-day, but, compared to France, it was centralized indeed. Its nobles were powerful, but not, like the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, princes really independent. Its towns, except London, were of small importance compared to the great cities of France, and had less local independence. Its language had many dialects spoken by the common people, but the students at its universities, unlike those of Paris and Toulouse, could understand each other without recourse to Latin.

Most of the country won by Edward III. and by the Black Prince was recovered for France in the reign of Charles V. (1364–1380) by the skill and valor of Duguesclin and Clisson;[1] Calais in the north and Bordeaux in the south, with the country about them, alone remained to England. Charles V. did much more than win back

[1] See Labroue, *Bergerac sous les Anglais*, in 12mo, p. 59.

lost territory. With some success, he attempted to organize the administration of France, to regulate its finances, and to secure justice for all. In the century and a half which separated Philip the Fair from Louis XI., he was the only man of ability to sit on the throne, and his early death was a calamity to the kingdom.

Charles VI. was twelve years old when his father died. During his minority the country was shamelessly plundered by his uncles, who overthrew the system which their brother had tried to establish. On coming of age, the young king recalled some of his father's old servants, but their rule was short. Weak in body and mind, four years of wild debauchery made Charles VI. a madman, sometimes raving, sometimes idiotic, sometimes with just enough intelligence to move the pity of those who saw him. His uncles and the other great nobles at once regained power, and preyed again upon the distracted country. 1380–1407.

After some years their promiscuous quarrels were resolved into a struggle between the two strongest. Louis, duke of Orleans, the king's younger brother, willful and licentious, but handsome and brilliant, with manners so winning that those who had served him never forgot their master, was opposed to Philip, duke of Burgundy, the king's youngest uncle, and to Philip's son and successor, John, surnamed the Fearless.[1] The country owned by the dukes of Burgundy was rich and populous; they ruled the trading cities of Flanders to the north of France, and both the duchy and county of Burgundy to the east. Though they were quite as greedy as the duke of Orleans or as any other great noble, both Philip and John were clever enough to protest in the name of the people against some oppressive taxes, the proceeds of which they were not able to share. In this way, they

[1] Philip the Bold of Burgundy died in 1404. John the Fearless and Louis of Orleans were both born in 1371.

came to represent the general discontent of the people, and grew especially popular with the ferocious mob of Paris.

From time to time a sham peace was made between the rivals. One Sunday in November, 1407, Louis and John together partook of the Eucharist, having first sworn love and good fellowship.[1] On the following Wednesday, the bravos of Duke John waylaid and murdered Duke Louis in the streets of Paris. Such was the temper of France, that the principal men of the kingdom assembled soon afterwards with the duke of Burgundy to hear a panegyric on the murder delivered by a priest whom John had hired for the occasion.

1407.

Louis of Orleans left faithful servants who, in the name of his young sons, prepared to avenge his death. For several years the tide of civil war ebbed and flowed through northern France and about the walls of Paris. Now and then peace was made, to be broken as one party or the other made fresh combinations with great nobles and princes of the blood. When hardest pressed, both sides in turn called the English to their help, a dangerous proceeding, as the English king had never abandoned his claim to be king of France. At first the Orleanists suffered for want of a leader, but, in 1410, Charles, the young duke of Orleans, was married to Bonne, daughter of Bernard, count of Armagnac; and thereafter the count led the opposition to John the Fearless, giving the name of Armagnacs to the Orleanist partisans. He was a rude nobleman of Gascony, with hot southern blood in his veins, quite as selfish as the duke of Burgundy and, if possible, even more violent. Availing himself of a reaction against the excesses of the Parisian mob, he seized the capital and the person of the king, and drove John back to his estates.

1410.

The troubles in England during the reigns of Richard

[1] See Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI.*, ed. 1614, p. 235.

II. and Henry IV. (1377–1413) prevented an invasion of France. Henry V., able and popular, in the struggle between Armagnacs and Burgundians found his chance to assert what he believed to be his right to the throne, and in 1415 entered Normandy. The government of France was in the hands of Armagnac. 1415. John the Fearless had no wish that his rival should win a victory; therefore he intrigued with Henry, and dissuaded his followers from joining the French army. After needless delay and with much blundering, an enormous body of the French nobility stumbled helplessly against the well-disciplined English troops at Agincourt, and was cut to pieces on the spot. The greatest and the bravest of the French nobles were killed or carried to England as prisoners. Terrible as was the disaster, some Frenchmen rejoiced at it.[1]

The English did not push their success until more than a year had passed; not until 1417 did Henry undertake the conquest of France in earnest. Armagnac had kept his control of the king, and the furious rivalry between himself and Burgundy paralyzed the nation; only the local pride of some city here and there enabled it to make a brave resistance. As Henry marched in triumph through the land, the people naturally blamed Armagnac rather than Duke John, and at last they would bear the count's rule no longer. The gates of Paris were opened by treachery, the Burgundian partisans burst into the city, seized the person of the king, and massacred every Armagnac they could find, including the count himself; only the Dauphin Charles, the king's last surviving son, a boy of fifteen, was snatched from his bed by one of the Armagnac captains, and carried off into central France.[2] 1418.

These two acts, the capture of the king by John the

[1] See Martin, *Hist. France*, vi. 22.

[2] See *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ann. 1418.

Fearless, and the abduction of the dauphin by the Armagnacs, made more definite the line of separation between the two parties. Both the crazy man and the weak boy were mere tools in the hands of their masters, but each represented certain great classes in the nation, both social and geographical. With the duke of Burgundy was the semblance of royalty, not only the king, but the vain and licentious queen, whose petty mind was now filled with hatred of her son. On the duke's side, also, was the mob of Paris, and the turbulent democracy of the cities of northern France; with him were the nobles of Burgundy, of Picardy, and of Flanders, and some enemies of Armagnac in the south. With the Armagnacs was that feeling of hopeful and future loyalty which clings to the heir of the throne; with them, also, were the men of central France, both nobles and common people, some of the southern nobles, most of the southern cities not in the power of the English, and not a few of the most respectable burghers in the north. More important than all, the larger and better part of the civil servants of the crown, judges, clerks, secretaries, and the like, sided with the Dauphin for fear of the arrogance of Duke John and the violence of the mob of Paris. At the moment, these men were overborne by the fierce Armagnac captains, the vindictive servants of Louis of Orleans, and the treacherous courtiers who made a plaything of the wretched Dauphin, but their power slowly increased, and at last they founded modern France.[1]

On both sides the leaders had lost all patriotism. Both the duke and the Armagnacs tried to buy the help of Henry by the offer of the best provinces of France; though willing to negotiate with both, Henry would make no agreement with either, but marched steadily onward. As city after city fell into his hands, signs of

[1] See Juvénal des Ursins, 455 ; also Péchenard, *Jean Juvénal*, 77 et seq.

real patriotism appeared among the people at large, and forced both John and the Armagnacs to pretend to wish for reconciliation.

After some negotiation, the duke met the Dauphin on the bridge over the Yonne at Montereau, some fifty miles southeast of Paris. Every precaution had been taken against treachery, stout palisades had been put up, and but ten men on each side were admitted to the conference. All was in vain. An old servant of Louis of Orleans, taking advantage of the duke's arrogant words and bearing, split open his head with an axe. This was no chance outburst of fury: the plot had been laid for months, and included some of the duke's retinue.[1] 1419.

The murder of John the Fearless had its natural consequences. Philip, surnamed the Good, his son and successor, a capable and ambitious young man of twenty-three, at once offered to Henry terms so favorable that the English king accepted them. In 1420 a treaty was signed at Troyes, whereby Henry, married to the daughter of Charles VI., was declared the heir of the crazy king and regent of France. By this act, forced upon Charles VI., Duke Philip hoped to glut his vengeance for the murder of Montereau. Paris was delivered to the English, and the allied English and Burgundian armies together proceeded to the conquest of the rest of France. 1420.

At first the Armagnac leaders showed some energy. They took the Dauphin into Languedoc, and by exhibiting him to the people won many to his support. They were,

[1] See Beaucourt, ii. 651. M. de Beaucourt doubts the authenticity of the document he publishes, and asks how an exoneration of Robert le Maçon could have come into the hands of La Trémoille. It was made out July 2, 1426, and in August La Trémoille violently seized Le Maçon's person. May he not have taken it from him? The want of the king's signature proves nothing; it was often omitted.

however, utterly incapable of governing the country; not satisfied with their exploit at Montereau, they tried in like manner to rid themselves of the duke of Brittany, a powerful prince, almost independent, whose alliance they might have won by fair dealing. The duke escaped, and, after a time, naturally followed Philip of Burgundy into the English camp.[1] In spite of one or two checks, Henry seemed on the point of conquering France, when he died suddenly, in the flower of his manhood. Charles VI. outlived him but a few weeks.

1422.

Henry VI. of England, by the treaty of Troyes king of France,[2] a baby nine months old, was now the head of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. His uncle, John, duke of Bedford, was his regent in France, a man shrewd, determined, patient, and temperate. The task of Bedford was harder than his brother's had been, for, after the treaty of Troyes, Henry V. had ruled in the name of Charles VI., whose right to the throne was undoubted, while Bedford must act for a foreigner, and against the natural head of the royal family.

In spite of this advantage, the affairs of Charles VII., as he was now called, went from bad to worse. He was about twenty years old, and his disposition began to manifest itself. Son of a vain and licentious mother, born when his father had been ten years a madman, the boy grew up among the dissolute brawlers at court. Throughout life he was what his parentage and his education naturally made him, weak in body and mind, now luxurious and fond of display, now melancholy and sullen, "drenching his passions with drunkenness

1422–1425.

[1] The plot against the duke of Brittany was made in 1420, and he did not join the English until 1423. The conduct of the Armagnac leaders, however, always rankled in him. See Cosneau, *Connétable de Richemont*, 60, 74.

[2] Of course he was not Henry VI. of France, but properly Henry II. In accordance with the custom of the time, he was usually styled simply Henry.

and debauchery, stupid with self-indulgence and slothfulness," as said a contemporary historian by no means unfriendly.[1] He was a coward; in his boyhood he had been dragged into the field by the fierce men about him, whose bravery was their only virtue, but, as soon as he could make his wishes respected, he withdrew into safe castles, where he spent most of his life. Plainly, France could expect nothing from him. From the leaders of the Armagnacs she could expect little more. Most of them were adventurers, whose only object was to get land and money. They caused the king to grant to them the royal domain, they pillaged the treasury, and stole the money intended for the army.[2] The boldest of them carried on a guerrilla warfare against the English, and in so doing mercilessly plundered, tortured, and killed the wretched peasantry. In the two years which followed his accession, Charles lost several provinces.

The English success aroused the patriotism of the common people and the jealousy of the great nobles, even of those who up to this time had sided with Burgundy and the English. An opportune quarrel between one of Bedford's brothers and Philip greatly irritated the duke with his allies. While he did not break with them for more than ten years to come, he looked with increasing dread upon English success, grew to believe that it was possible to be reconciled to Charles, and intrigued to gain power at his court. From this time forward he kept faith with neither party.

All these causes weakened the power which the old leaders of the Armagnacs had hitherto kept. Even at court they were not unopposed. Yolande of Aragon, duchess dowager of Anjou, the king's mother-in-law, and a woman of real ability, knew well that it was vain to

[1] Basin, *Hist. Charles VII.*, i. 54, 116. See Appendix A.

[2] See Beaucourt, ii. 69; Vallet de Viriville, *Charles VII.*, i. 162; Tuetey, *Ecorcheurs sous Charles VII.*, ii. 449.

fight with the English, unless aided by the great feudal lords, and that these would never submit to be governed by political adventurers and captains of banditti. With Yolande were the civil servants, as we should call them, the permanent officials; with her, also, were the representative assemblies, both of the kingdom and of the provinces, who knew how terrible was the corruption and disorder everywhere.[1] By vigorous diplomacy the old favorites were frightened and outwitted, and the feeble king was handed over to the control of Arthur, count of Richemont,[2] brother of the duke of Brittany and brother-in-law of Philip of Burgundy.

1425–1427.

The character of Richemont, thus made constable of France, was not immaculate. Already he had changed sides more than once. Ambitious and overbearing, he would tolerate no rival at court, while his greed was only less than that of his predecessors.[3] He had, however, a real sense of responsibility, and he addressed himself seriously to the task of beating back the English. His influence secured the support of Brittany, while Philip was induced to grant a truce covering a large part of the eastern frontier of France.[4]

Some of the old favorites still lingered at court and

[1] See Péchenard, *Jean Juvénal*, 82, 198.

[2] The real title of Arthur of Brittany was Earl of Richmond in Yorkshire, a title conferred at sundry times on various members of the ducal house of Brittany. See Doyle, *Official Baronage*, iii. 116. At this time Arthur's right to the title probably was not acknowledged in England. The gallicized word "Richemont" is always used by French historians.

[3] For Richemont, see Cosneau, *Connétable de Richemont*, and a review of the book, *Bibl. Ecole des Chartes*, xlix. 261. He revoked the grants made to former favorites. Beaucourt, ii. 122.

[4] In 1426 Richemont told Philip that he had driven from Charles's court all persons disagreeable to the duke. Philip ought, therefore, to act fairly by the royal cause. Under no circumstances would Richemont allow the English to triumph. The letter is, on the whole, that of a forceful and sensible man. Beaucourt, ii. 375; Plancher, *Hist. Bourgogne*, iv., lxii.

easily gained the ear of the weak king, who never liked the manners of the constable. They hindered the negotiations with Philip, and were supposed to hamper the constable's operations in the field. Richemont did not stick at trifles. One favorite he dragged from court and drowned in the river, another he slaughtered almost before the eyes of Charles. But the third favorite, George of La Trémoille,[1] a nobleman of some importance, proved too strong for the fierce Breton, and gained firm control of the wretched king and of the miserable remnant of France still left to Charles. The duke of Brittany went back to the English alliance in high dudgeon, while La Trémoille spent the royal treasure in carrying on a private war with the constable, who remained nominally loyal.[2]

In 1428 France was come to this condition. Normandy, Paris and the country about it, Perche, Alençon, most of Maine and Champagne, were in the hands of the English. Brittany was ruled by an independent prince, their somewhat reluctant ally. Picardy and Flanders on the north, the duchy and county of Burgundy on the east, belonged to Philip the Good, a man jealous of English success, but still anxious to avenge his father's murder, and irritated by the disgrace of Richemont, his brother-in-law, though willing to intrigue with La Trémoille. The duke of Lorraine had been cajoled and bullied into acknowledging Henry VI.; even his heir, René of Anjou, Charles's brother-in-law, yielded at last. Speaking generally, nearly all France north of the Loire, and all the country east of that river, as far south as Lyons, denied the right of Charles.[3] 1428.

[1] For La Trémoille, see Beaucourt, ii. 144, 128. He was born 1385.

[2] See Quicherat, *Rodrigo de Villandrando*, 30; Loiseleur, *Compte des dépenses faites par Charles VII.*, 61, 62.

[3] Longnon, *Rev. Quest. Hist.*, October, 1875, 444; and see the map published in Wallon, *Jeanne d'Arc*, éd. illust., 412.

This was not all. Bordeaux had been in English hands two centuries and a half, and no city in England was more loyal to Henry. Much of the surrounding country was English, while the rest of southwestern France was ruled by nobles whom neither party could trust. In the southeast, Provence was practically an independent state.

The remainder of France, the country south of the Loire between the Garonne and the Rhone, together with Dauphiny, acknowledged Charles VII. At a safe distance from the enemy, in some strong castle, the king passed his time in idleness, in debauchery, and in melancholy brooding over his troubles. His master, La Trémoille, plundered France, betrayed it to Burgundy, and dealt privately with the English to save his own possessions from attack.[1] Leagued with him were other courtiers, who in humbler degree imitated his greed and his treachery. The great nobles stood aloof. Here and there some general in the field tried to do his duty against the English without money and without men. Most of the captains, however, even when faithful to Charles, were by habit unspeakable ruffians, far more terrible to the wretched people than to their own enemies, and as ready to hire out for private warfare as to take the field against the English. More than once the king was compelled to ransom his servants from the hands of his own soldiers.[2]

In the cities was constant terror. Seldom would the burghers open their gates to admit even friendly soldiers. Nearly every city in northern France had been besieged, some of them many times, and many of them had been sacked by Armagnacs, Burgundians, or English. Yet in the cities alone was there a hope of safety. The open country became a desert, briars choked up what once were fertile fields, and the peasants starved or were tor-

[1] See *Les La Trémoille pendant cinq siècles*, 171 et seq.

[2] See Quicherat, *Rodrigo de Villandrando*, 30.

tured to death by the French banditti, or rose in blind revolt and were slaughtered by English troops.[1] Out of this stress came at last French patriotism and the centralized power of the French king; but, at the moment when both patriotism and king seemed weakest, the English sent a strong army under their best captains to force the barrier of the Loire and end the struggle. With this intent they laid siege to Orleans.

[1] See Basin, i. 32, 45; Jean Chartier, i. 175; Cosneau, 236, 241; *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ann. 1419; Tuetey, *Ecorcheurs sous Charles VII.* All contemporary accounts of France speak of the utter misery of the country, especially the open country. In 1444 a truce was made with the English, and the peasants went wild with delight. Basin, i. 161.

CHAPTER II.

DOMREMY.

The village of Domremy lies in the valley of the Meuse, where the Vair enters the larger stream. Through rich, green meadows, about a mile wide, the sluggish waters of the river flow in many small channels, which change their course at flood-time from year to year. Behind the meadows, east and west, rise low, gentle hills, two or three hundred feet high, so flat at the top that they seem to mark the original level of the land, through which the river and its tributaries have forced their way. Just at the foot of this low, sloping wall of hills, on the very edge of the meadows, lies the little village, made up to-day of forty or fifty houses, as it was four hundred and fifty years ago. Never important enough to be walled, it straggles along the great highroad from Langres to Verdun,[1] and along a narrow, crooked, irregular lane behind it.

In 1412 the slopes of the hills and the flat land at their top were well covered with woods. Above each little village on the banks of the Meuse, above Domremy, Maxey, Greux, Burey, and the rest, stretched the forest which still keeps the name of the village whose inhabitants it supplied with firing four or five centuries ago.

The peasants of Domremy raised crops of corn, and there was a vineyard near by; each family kept fowls and bees, but their principal wealth was in their cattle. These fed together on the rich pastures of the river-bottom, and were tended in turn by the children of the vil-

[1] Luce, *J. à Domremy*, xx.

lage. Such is the custom to-day. The houses were of stone with thatched or tiled roofs; they were small, of one or two or three rooms, and sometimes there was a low garret overhead. The furniture was simple: a few stools and benches, a table or a pair of trestles with a board to cover them, a few pots and pans of copper, and some pewter dishes. The housewife had in her chest two or three sheets for her feather-bed, two or three kerchiefs, a cloak, a piece of cloth ready to be made into whatever garment was most needed, and a few buttons and pins. Often there was a sword in the corner, or a spear or an arblast, but the peasants were peaceful, seldom waged war, and often were unable even to resist attack.[1]

Under the feudal system, every foot of land had many owners, each holding it of a superior lord, until the sovereign himself was reached. The peasants of Domremy were vassals of the noble family of Bourlemont, whose castle, some four miles to the south, still stands on a wooded headland which juts out into the flat meadows of the Meuse. To the same family belonged the larger village of Greux, half a mile north of Domremy, forming with it but one parish.[2]

The lords of Bourlemont held their lands of more than one overlord. Their castle they held directly of the king of France; not so Domremy. It is probable that nearly the whole of this village lay south of an insignificant rivulet which separated Greux, a possession of the bishop of Toul, from the duchy of Bar. The duke of Bar was thus the overlord of Domremy, but for this part of his duchy he, in turn, owed allegiance to the king of France.

The position of this rivulet and the precise feudal rela-

[1] See Luce, xliv., liii. 262, and the claims for damages in the depositions printed by Tuetey, *Ecorcheurs sous Charles VII.*

[2] P. i. 46, J.'s test. See Lepage, *J. est-elle Lorraine?* 2de dissert., 301.

tion of Domremy have been the subject of endless controversy. Its lord lived in France, its bishop was a prince of the Empire, the provost was an officer of the duke of Bar, while the bailiwick, in which it was included, included also territory more directly dependent upon the French crown. From year to year, moreover, king and duke, bishop and bailiff, tried to extend their several jurisdictions, and so time increased the natural confusion of the feudal system. It is quite clear, however, that the peasants did not care whether they were separated from the king of France by one or more intermediate vassals. Their speech was French; their sympathies looked west rather than east; even in Lorraine, on the other side of the Meuse, the feeling for France was warm, though the duchy of Lorraine was no part of the kingdom, but belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.[1]

[1] The people of Maxey sur Meuse, less than a mile from Domremy, seem to have favored the Burgundians ; but see p. 26, infra.

The controversy concerning the precise political relations of Domremy has produced an immense number of pamphlets, some of them written very intemperately. For instance, one writer has intimated that those who deny that Joan was born in Champagne are guilty of blasphemy. Georges, *Jeanne d'Arc considerée au point de vue franco-champenois*, 532. In fact, so great was the confusion in the political geography of the valley of the Meuse, that the same man might, not unreasonably, call himself a Frenchman, a resident in the duchy of Lorraine, in the duchy of Bar, in the province of Champagne, and in the bishopric of Toul, all at once. Under these circumstances, to seek to determine the political relations of Domremy by the casual expressions of people living in the neighborhood is absurd. No evidence except that of title-deeds and of the like formal documents is worth considering. Unfortunately, the search for such evidence, though extensive, has not been quite thorough, and some minor questions have not yet been settled beyond possibility of doubt. In the light of the evidence thus far collected the matter stands somewhat as follows : —

In the thirteenth century much the larger part, perhaps the whole, of Domremy belonged to the duchy of Bar, while Greux and perhaps a small part of Domremy belonged to the temporalities of the bishop-

The relation of the men of Domremy to the house of Bourlemont was friendly. Their dues were heavy, it is

ric of Toul. The line which divided the duchy from the bishopric followed the course of a small brook, called the Three Fountains Brook, which then entered the Meuse at the northern end of the village of Domremy, but which, in the last century, was deflected considerably to the southward. Chapellier, *Etude hist. et géog. sur Domremy;* Ib., *Etude sur la véritable nationalité de J.;* Luce, 281, 282, 284; De Pange, *Patriotisme français en Lorraine*, 21, 53.

In 1301 the duke of Bar was compelled to do homage to the king of France for all that part of his duchy which lay on the left bank of the Meuse, including Domremy. Thereafter Domremy south of the brook belonged to that part of the duchy which, in the technical language of feudalism, "moved" from the kingdom of France. The district north of the brook still belonged to the bishop of Toul. Both Domremy and Greux continued to belong to the family of Bourlemont, which held lands of many overlords. Chapellier, ubi supra.

Of the three persons concerned, the king of France, the duke of Bar, and the bishop of Toul, the king was the strongest and the bishop the weakest. At some time which cannot be fixed precisely, probably early in the fifteenth century, Greux passed out of the temporal power of the bishop of Toul, and became a subject of dispute between the king and the duke. The king's officers were always seeking to extend their jurisdiction, while the duke, now become duke of Lorraine, and therefore a powerful and independent prince, sought to consolidate his possessions and to free himself from French control. The duke claimed both Greux and Domremy, while the king claimed both as integral parts of his dominions, and not simply as estates "moving" from them. There were vicissitudes in the controversy, but at length the Three Fountains Brook seems to have been agreed upon as the boundary, north of which the king could do as he pleased, while south of it he had only the shadowy rights of a suzerain. Chapellier, *Etude hist.*, 19 et seq.; Lepage, *J. est-elle Lorraine?* 2de dissert.; Luce, xxx. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, even these were renounced, and the territory south of the brook became incorporated in the independent duchy of Lorraine. (In 1571 and 1575. See Lepage, ubi supra, 340.) About two hundred years later (in 1766) the whole of this duchy, Domremy included, was finally joined to France.

Joan was born, therefore, a subject of the duke of Bar, and, only remotely, of the king of France. As has been said, however, this made no difference in her feelings and in those of her neighbors.

true. Twice a year a tax must be paid on each animal drawing a cart; the lord's harvest must be gathered, his hay cut and stored, firewood drawn to his house, fowls and beef and bacon furnished to his table. Those who had no carts must carry his letters.[1] Services like these were the common duty of all peasants. Their lord owed them some sort of safeguard, and he lived among them. The walls of his castle were in sight; even in Domremy he had a little fortress or "strong house," called the Castle of the Island, over which they were compelled to mount guard, and to which they could flee in time of danger.[2] The lord of Bourlemont with his wife and her maids often danced under a gigantic beech-tree near the village, where, as the legend went, his ancestor used to hold converse with a fairy. On Mid-Lent Sunday, or

Standing by her father's house, one of her brothers could probably have thrown a stone across the Three Fountains Brook, and into the debatable land of Greux. Thither Joan went to church for months, and, while watching the cattle in the meadows, she may well have crossed the almost imaginary boundary line twenty times a day. In spite of the evidence of local quarrels, it is hard to believe that the men of Maxey (for the feudal situation of Maxey see Lepage, 2de dissert., 287, 288) across the meadows really differed in national politics from the men of Domremy ; it is certain that the men of Domremy and Greux altogether agreed. Had Joan happened to be born north of the brook, the political influence which surrounded her would have been precisely the same. (In addition to the authorities above given, see the monographs of M. Athanase Renard and of M. Lepage ; Georges, *J. est-elle champenoise ou lorraine? ; J. au point de vue franco-champenois ;* Luce, *France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, 1st ser., 263 et seq. ; P. Lanéry d'Arc, *Culte de J.*, 28, note ; Bourgaut, *Guide du pélerin à Domremy*, 24 ; Misset, *J. champenoise.*)

[1] Luce, 285. The will of one of the lords of Bourlemont, made in 1399, provides that if the people of Domremy can show that they have been unjustly compelled to give him two dozen goslings, restitution shall be made. Luce, 19. See, also, Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, ii. 90.

[2] P. i. 66, J.'s test. See Luce, *France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, 274 et seq. ; Chapellier, *Etude hist. et géog. sur Domremy*, 14 ; Servais, *Annales du Barrois*, i. 42.

Fountain Sunday, as they called it, the boys and girls went thither also, hung garlands on the branches of the fairy tree, ate their cakes in its deep shade, and drank the waters of a neighboring fountain which healed the sick.[1] The life of noble and peasant in the Middle Ages was monotonous and miserable enough, but by moments it was light-hearted and picturesque.

Each little village had its officers, chosen from the most substantial and responsible of its people. Thus Domremy had its mayor, its sheriff, and its dean, though probably there were not sixty men of full age in the place. Early in the fifteenth century, the dean of Domremy was one James, or Jacob, called of Arc,[2] very likely from the town of Arc en Barrois. He was born at Ceffonds in Champagne, and no one knows how he came to live in Domremy, fifty miles from his birthplace. Near the beginning of the century, being then about five and twenty, he married Isabel of Vouthon, a village four or five miles northwest of Domremy. Of his family there is no authentic trace; the relatives of Isabel were humble people, carpenters and tilers; one reached the dignity of a curacy, and another became a monk.[3]

The couple prospered. They had a good house of three or four rooms, close by the church, some meadow land, and cattle, of course. James of Arc gained the respect of his new neighbors. When they had a lawsuit to carry on, when the community wished to make a con-

[1] P. ii. 399, Thevenin ; 404, Thiesselin. See 390, n., 391, n.

[2] In adopting the spelling d'Arc rather than Darc, I have followed the great majority of French authorities. So Quicherat (see Georges, *J. est-elle champenoise?* 4), Beaucourt, Wallon, Luce, Boucher de Molandon, Sorel, A. Renard, Léopold Delisle, Georges, Fabre, Ayroles, and many others ; *contra*, Vallet de Viriville, Villiaumé, Lepage, Lescure. Apart from French usage, the English locution, Joan of Arc, is pretty well established.

[3] P. ii. 388, Morel ; Luce, xxxvii., l. ; Labourasse, *Vouthon-haut*, 149 et seq. ; Boucher de Molandon, *Famille de J.* ; Ib., *Jacques d'Arc.*

tract, James of Arc was one of the committee to manage the affair. As dean he commanded the watch, collected the taxes, and inspected the weights and measures. That influence in a rural community which belongs to a man a little richer and a little more successful than most of his neighbors, James of Arc earned and kept.[1]

He had several children. The oldest son, named after his father, and called Jacquemin, for sake of distinction, was born very early in the century. John was the second son; Peter, the youngest child, was born about 1413. Apparently, there was a daughter Catherine, not much younger than her brother Jacquemin, who became the wife of a neighbor, and died soon after her marriage.[2] About the feast of the Epiphany, 1412,[3] Isabel gave birth to another daughter. In the church of the village the child was baptized Joan or Janet by John Minet, probably the curate. She had four godfathers and as many godmothers, a number befitting the importance of her father in the neighborhood. They were not all from Domremy; two were of Greux, the next village, where one served as mayor. John Barré was of Neufchâteau, a small town seven miles to the southward; another godparent was the wife of a squire.[4]

1412.

There are legends enough concerning the childhood of Joan of Arc, but we know little of it until she was twelve or thirteen years old. She learned Our Father, and Ave Maria, and the Creed from her

1412–1425.

[1] Luce, cliv. 97; *France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, 279. Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, ii. 93, unduly depreciates the office of dean.

[2] P. v. 151, 220. Peter was younger than Joan, v. 228. He could not have been much younger, or he would not have served in the army. The existence and early death of Catherine are pretty well established. Boucher de Molandon, *Famille de J.*, 72.

[3] P. i. 46, J.'s test.; v. 116, Boulainvilliers. 1412 is the commonly accepted date, though it is impossible to be quite sure.

[4] Luce, liv. 98, 355; P. i. 46, J.'s test.; ii. 395, Estellin; 398, Thevenin; 429, Joyart.

mother; she played with the other children on holidays, and with them she tended the cattle at pasture.[1] For the rest, we know only what other people living in the valley of the Meuse, men and women and children, thought and felt in the years between 1412 and 1425.

Joan was three years old when Henry V. invaded France and won the battle of Agincourt. For two or three years afterwards, the war was carried on in the northwest of the kingdom, and the valley of the Meuse was little disturbed. Even in time of peace, not infrequently some lord would ravage the lands of his enemy's vassals, but every one must take his chance of a mishap like that. Thus in the village of Maxey, just across the river, and less than a mile from Domremy, a battle was fought in 1419 between the followers of two quarrelsome noblemen. One of these, Robert of Saarbruck, lord of Commercy, took some thirty prisoners, whom he held to ransom, among them the squire, husband of Joan's godmother. At this time Domremy escaped.[2]

The alliance between Philip of Burgundy and Henry V., and the treaty of Troyes, made in 1420, opened eastern France to the ravages of war, at the same time civil and foreign. Louis, duke of Bar and cardinal bishop of Verdun, the feudal lord of Domremy, tried to keep peace with both parties, but the times were too troubled for neutrality. An embassy sent him by Philip of Burgundy was waylaid on its return by the lord of Commercy and by Robert of Baudricourt. The latter was a partisan of the Armagnacs, and a soldier of fortune, who held the little city of Vaucouleurs for the dauphin. In vain the cardinal disavowed the outrage; in vain he paid the ambassadors' ransom: Philip of Burgundy would

[1] P. i. 46, 67, J.'s test.

[2] Luce, lxiv. 301. There was a tree near Neufchâteau called the partisans' oak, which took its name from the men who were hanged on it. Lescure, *Jeanne Darc*, 48.

hear no excuse, and the cardinal was forced to take sides with the Armagnacs. The Burgundians invaded his duchy, and he summoned to his aid "the most cruel and least pitiful of all the Armagnac captains," the Gascon Stephen of Vignolles, called La Hire. This man, of whom we shall hear much more, was famous throughout France for his bravery, his brutal rapacity, and his savage humor.[1]

Neither La Hire nor his Burgundian rivals discriminated between friend and foe. Terrified by the outrages of his new allies, the weary cardinal resigned his duchy to René of Anjou, a boy of twelve, and constituted the duke of Lorraine the boy's guardian.[2] Charles of Lorraine was soon persuaded to swear allegiance to Henry V., but his action had little effect on the freebooters, or "skinners," who were ravaging the duchy of Bar. Up and down the valley of the Meuse they rode, pretending revenge for hostile attack, but in reality gratifying their greed of booty and their lust of cruelty. Their deeds make our ears tingle even now, whether the story is read in the rhetorical narrative of a chronicler, in the prosaic minutes of a judicial inquest, or in the preamble of the pardons which they always got for the asking. They drove off all the cattle, they burnt the crops, either to light their road or in mere wantonness, and we know the contents of each peasant's house by the list of his poor belongings which they destroyed.[3] This was the most humane part of their work. "These men," wrote a statesman of the day, "under pretense of blackmail and so forth, seized men, women, and little children, regardless of age and sex; violated women and girls; killed husbands and fathers before their wives and daughters; car-

[1] Luce, lxiv., lxvii. 76, 306; *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1431. See Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. xxii.

[2] Luce, lxix., lxxii.

[3] See Luce, 262, 273.

ried off nurses, and left their children to die of hunger; took pregnant women, put them in the stocks, let their offspring die without baptism, and then threw mother and child into the river; seized priests and monks, put them to the torture, and beat them until they were maimed or driven mad. Some they roasted, dashed out the teeth of others, and others they beat with great clubs. God knows what cruelty they wrought."[1]

The wretched men of Domremy were almost defenseless. James of Arc and another well-to-do peasant hired of the lady of Bourlemont the "Castle of the Island," the fortified house and court-yard already mentioned, standing between the village and the river, wherein they could take refuge with their cattle, and try to keep themselves against sudden attack. Joan's oldest brother, Jacquemin, and four other villagers went surety for the rent, which was considerable.[2] In 1423 the men of Domremy and Greux gave a bond to the lord of Commercy, a ruffian whose whole life was spent in robbery and cruelty. By it these villages were bound to pay a hearth tax for the immunity granted them, and upon it the principal men of the two places, James of Arc among them, offered themselves as sureties. Such bonds were openly given and received. This was executed before a notary of the ecclesiastical court of Toul, and, with fine legal irony, is expressed to be given "with good will, and without any force, constraint, or guile whatsoever." Very likely similar bonds were given by the men of Domremy to other noble robbers. We are told that these "put to ransom a poor village in eight or ten different places, and fired the village and church if the blackmail was not paid."[3]

[1] Jean Juvénal des Ursins, in Beaucourt, iii. 389, 390.

[2] Luce, *France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, 277.

[3] Luce, lxxvi. 97, 359; Beaucourt, iii. 389; Tuetey, *Ecorcheurs*, i. 50, 89, 94, 95, 157; Thomas, *Etats provinciaux de la France centrale*, i. 325; *Bibl. Ec. Chartes*, t. v. 24; "A Successful Highwayman in the

The Castle of the Island and the promise of Robert of Commercy were scant protection to the men of Domremy, though they could find no better. By good fortune, rather than through any precaution, the village escaped for several years, but its time was sure to come. Every traveler that passed along the great highroad through Domremy brought news of fresh horrors. One day Joan heard of the death of her cousin's husband, killed within two years of his marriage.[1] At times the sky to the northward smoked from the burning villages, and the lieutenant of the duke of Bar forbade the peasants to light a fire, lest the freebooters should use it to destroy the neighborhood.[2]

As has been said, the plundering was indiscriminate. The wretched countryman neither knew nor cared if it was Englishman, Burgundian, or Armagnac who burnt his house before his eyes and his children in it. Indeed, the ruffians changed sides so often that at times they hardly remembered which master they were pretending to serve. Speaking generally, however, there were degrees in the brutality which possessed the soldiers of all parties. The English at this time usually kept the appearance of a regular army under some sort of discipline. The Burgundian irregulars served a master who commonly paid his troops, and who tried to control them by himself or his lieutenants. The Armagnacs, those who acknowledged Charles VII. for king, knew well that he was too poor to pay them, too cowardly to lead them in the field, and was ready to pardon any outrage they might think it worth while to confess. Naturally, therefore, the true soldiers of fortune, men hating authority and reckless as they were cruel, more and more inclined to the side of Charles, and committed the worst outrages in his name.

Middle Ages," *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1890. For Robert, see Dumont, *Hist. Commercy*, i. 209 et seq.

[1] Luce, lxxiv. [2] Luce, 142.

For all this, the common people of France year by year attached themselves more earnestly to the cause of Charles VII. Before the English invasion, while Armagnacs and Burgundians fought for the rule of the kingdom, and for the guardianship of the crazy king, both parties were willing to betray France to the English if they might get some temporary advantage. Even after the battle of Agincourt their intrigues continued, and all patriotism seemed dead; only the civic pride of some city like Rouen defended it against Henry V. By the murder of John of Burgundy at the bridge of Montereau, the attitude of the two parties was completely changed. Philip the Good allied himself at once to the English, and thus made of the Armagnacs the patriotic party, almost against their will. Slowly but steadily this fact entered into the minds of the common people. La Hire and his ruffians were very cruel, more cruel than the Englishmen of the regent Bedford, but only through La Hire and the like of him was there any hope of final escape. Peace could come only by the overthrow of the English; when they were gone, La Hire and his companions could be dealt with as they deserved.

Of course the peasants felt this almost unconsciously; they did not reason much about it. The old partisan hatred did not disappear at once, and patriotic enthusiasm was kindled slowly. The Burgundians of Paris at first welcomed the English, and the people of Normandy were reasonably quiet under English rule, so long as the Armagnac partisans were kept out of the province. Few noblemen could be trusted by either side; but the common people came slowly to recognize that the question was no longer between Burgundian and Armagnac, but between foreigners and Frenchmen. Before that awful struggle French patriotism hardly existed. At the end of the Hundred Years' War it was well grown.[1]

[1] See Luce, *Chron. de Mt. St. Michel*, i. 300, for the story of a man who had been twice made prisoner by the Armagnacs, yet loved them

What was true of the rest of the kingdom was true of a village like Domremy. Much learning has been wasted in proving that the part of Domremy in which Joan was born belonged to the royal domain. Ingenuity has been exhausted in guessing why its people were faithful to Charles. In fact, they shared the feelings of other Frenchmen, of nearly all men not nobles or soldiers who spoke the French language, whatever might be their precise feudal relation to the crown. Personal and local feuds still lasted, of course. There was a peasant even in Domremy who passed for a Burgundian. The boys of Joan's age at Domremy used to fight in the meadows with the boys of Maxey, the former as Armagnacs, the latter as Burgundians; but these childish quarrels, which lasted into the present century, were probably the remains of an old local feud between the two villages, rather than the result of recent political strife.[1]

In these surroundings Joan passed her childhood. Her father came from a village whose people may have had a traditional affection for the king of France,[2] but his feelings differed little from those of his neighbors. Everywhere the child learned that the English, aided by the duke of Burgundy, were the cause of all the horrors about her, and that the only hope lay in Charles VII., her rightful king. The time came when she saw those horrors with her own eyes.

more than he did the English. See, also, *Bibl. Ec. Chartes*, t. liv. 475.

[1] P. ii. 423, Gérard d'Epinal; i. 65, 66, J.'s test.; Luce, *France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, 276.

[2] Luce, xl.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOICES.

Some forty miles west of Domremy, the castle of Doulevant was held by Henry of Orly, a soldier of fortune, who had gathered to himself a band of freebooters, and with them lived off the countryside. He cared little for English, Armagnacs, or Burgundians; in the utter confusion of men and parties, he plundered all the poor and weak, while he waged war and made alliances with the greater feudal lords, changing sides with bewildering rapidity. One day, when Joan was about thirteen years old, his men fell upon Domremy so suddenly that the people could not escape to the Castle of the Island. The robbers quickly gathered all the cattle of the village, stripped the houses of everything worth carrying off, and rode away with their booty. Apparently, they did not kill the peasants, or even burn their houses, but the livelihood of the village was gone. The herd was so large that the castle of Doulevant would not hold the cattle, but, as they were driven some fifty miles from Domremy, Henry of Orly feared no pursuit. 1425.

In their distress the peaceful peasants called upon Joanna of Joinville, then the representative of the family of Bourlemont, to which Domremy belonged. The lady sent for help to her kinsman, Anthony, count of Vaudemont, one of the most powerful lords in Lorraine. Vaudemont's men retook the cattle without much difficulty; they beat off Orly, when he came riding after them, and drove the herd in safety back to Domremy.[1] There was great joy in the village at its return.

[1] Luce, lxxxi. 275.

Thus Domremy learned the meaning of war. The English were not directly responsible for the raid, as Orly seems to have been in the service of neither party, while the count of Vaudemont was distinctly on the Anglo-Burgundian side. Nevertheless, as has been said, the common people were coming to feel that peace and quiet were possible only after the English should be driven from France.

Soon after this raid,[1] at about noon in the summer-time, Joan was in her father's garden, a small plot of ground between the house and the church. At her left hand, toward the church, she saw a great light and had a vision of the archangel Michael, surrounded by other angels. The little girl, only about thirteen years old, was much frightened, and did not know what was come to her; soon the vision faded away. In the days and weeks which followed, however, it returned again and again. Her fear passed away as she became familiar with the sight, and fear was succeeded by great comfort and peace, when at length she believed that the archangel had verily appeared to her. He bade her be a good girl, and promised that God would help her; he said that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would soon visit her, commissioned by God to advise and to guide her, and he ordered her to obey their words. His prophecy came to pass, and she beheld the two saints, their gracious faces richly crowned. They told her their names, and, vaguely at first, they bade her go to the help of the king of France. At once she took their voices as the

[1] This is M. Luce's conjecture, and it is a very happy one, though without positive proof. At P. i. 72, Joan says it was seven years before her trial, *i. e.*, 1424 ; at i. 52, when she was thirteen years old, *i. e.*, 1425. Neither statement was intended to be an exact one. Moreover, the date of the raid is not certainly known within a year or two. See Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, ii. 278 et seq. M. Luce is certainly fanciful at times, but P. Ayroles is inclined to adopt an opinion because it is opposed to that of M. Luce.

guide of her life, asking no reward of them, except the salvation of her soul.[1]

These were the subjective impressions on the mind of Joan. Their objective cause and explanation have been widely sought, but if we try to connect the past life and the surroundings of the little girl with the saints whom she saw, we shall find the evidence of such connection very scanty. Six years earlier, Charles VII., when dauphin, had in some sort taken St. Michael for his patron, and a picture of the archangel for his armorial device.[2] The great fortified Norman monastery of Mount St. Michael at the Peril of the Sea had been blockaded by the English, and at about the time of Joan's vision its defenders had won a victory which raised the blockade.[3] It is possible, of course, that a peasant's child, thirteen years old, should attach importance to the heraldic device of her king, and should be deeply moved by a victory of some local note won more than three hundred miles from her home, but it is not likely. Catherine was the name of Joan's sister, and there was a statue of St. Margaret in the church of Domremy.[4] In this way Joan may have come to regard these saints with especial reverence, but the cause of her veneration, if it existed before her vision, is more probably buried with the lost history of her early childhood and of the local traditions and worship of the village.

The occasion and circumstances of her vision were known at the time only to the little girl. The day of the vision was probably a fast day, though this is not certain. Such days are far too common in the Catholic Church,

[1] P. i. 51, 52, 57, 70, 73, 128, 169-171, 480, J.'s test.

[2] Luce, lxxxix., xcvi. 87. For an account of statuettes of St. Michael, etc., see *Almanach de J.*, 1890, 17, note.

[3] Luce, ciii.; Ib., *Chron. de Mt. St. Michel*, i. 28, 202.

[4] Bourgaut, *Guide du pélerin à Domremy*, 60. St. Catherine was patron of the church of Maxey. Luce, cxxviii.

however, to produce any disturbing effect.[1] The life of a child, living with other children in an obscure hamlet, leaves no record from which its history can be written. Just after Joan became famous, a story went that one day she had been running races in the meadows of the Meuse, always beating her companions, and seeming to fly rather than to tread the ground. As she stopped, breathless, a boy told her that her mother needed her help; but when Joan reached the cottage, Isabel answered that she had not been sent for. The girl turned about to rejoin her companions, then suddenly saw a light and heard a voice. This account of the first vision, however, is contained in a letter which is full of pure legend, and cannot be trusted.[2]

Joan herself seldom spoke of her visions;[3] like many of the deepest religious experiences, they were much too sacred for common conversation. For several years she said not a word to any one. Afterwards, when it became absolutely necessary to say something in order to establish her divine mission, she spoke of what she had seen, but always with reluctance and reserve; with still greater reluctance she spoke to her judges at her trial, and yet from her own story all our real knowledge of her visions has come. That she both saw and heard the saints we know, but precisely what she saw, or how she heard them speak, she never told any one.[4] Two things only are certain: first, that she was sincere, both then and afterwards, and, second, that no trick was played upon her by others. It appears,

1425–1428.

[1] In her testimony Joan is reported as saying only that she had not fasted on the preceding day. (P. i. 52, corrected by the insertion of "non." See Taxil, *Le Martyre de J.*, 101.) In the digest of her testimony prepared by the court, i. 216, she is made to say also that "she was then fasting."

[2] P. v. 114, Boulainvilliers.

[3] See P. i. 128, J.'s test.

[4] See P. iii. 12, Bastard; i. 85, 86, J.'s test.

moreover, by very strong evidence, that in all other respects she was quite healthy, both in body and in mind.[1] Further than this, history cannot go, and the choice between insanity and inspiration must be made by another science.[2]

Joan's heavenly visitors caused no great change in her outward life. She busied herself in spinning, in sewing, and in helping her mother about the house; she worked in the fields and gathered the harvest with other girls of her age, and now and then she took her turn in watching the cattle at pasture.[3] She was a good girl, nursed the sick, and occasionally gave her bed to some wayfarer who passed the night in her father's house.[4] She went to confession and to mass, visited the oratories and chapels on the hillsides, liked to hear the church-bells ring out over the valley of the Meuse, and chid the sexton when he was lazy or forgetful. Sometimes the other children of the village, as children will, laughed at her for her piety.[5] She was reserved, and having a great secret which she told to no one, she lived by herself more than most girls of her age; but she had her friends, whom she loved and who loved her. She was strong and brave, very earnest, but having much of the shrewd humor of the peasants of Lorraine. After she had become famous, the villagers strained their memories, and roused their imaginations, to tell marvelous stories of her girlhood, but, as she grew up among them, they thought of her

[1] Aulon says that he heard from several women that Joan did not menstruate, but his recollection of hearsay twenty-five years or more after the event is almost worthless. Many pure legends about Joan are much better vouched than this. He himself says that she was fair and well formed. P. iii. 219. See, also, iii. 100, Alençon.

[2] See Appendix B.

[3] P. i. 51, 66, J.'s test.; ii. 390, Morel; 396, Estellin; 424, Musnier.

[4] P. ii. 424, Musnier; 427, Gérardin.

[5] P. ii. 402, Syon; 413, Drapier; 420, Waterin; 433, Colin.

only as a good girl, like other good girls whom they knew.

For three years the saints visited Joan,[1] and their "voices," as she called them, told her more and more distinctly that she must save France, though as yet they gave her no definite commands. Meantime, the fortune of Charles VII. and of the Armagnacs, especially in the neighborhood of Domremy, went from bad to worse. In 1427, and in 1428, the Anglo-Burgundians carried on vigorous campaigns, and before midsummer, 1428, in the whole east of France, only the town of Vaucouleurs held for Charles VII.[2] Several Burgundian leaders advanced to besiege it; its captain, Robert of Baudricourt, prepared to defend himself, but he could not protect the open country. Domremy was only thirteen miles south of Vaucouleurs, and the peasants left their homes while there was time to escape. Moving in a body, they drove their cattle seven miles south to Neufchâteau, a walled town belonging to the duke of Lorraine, who was an ally of the English. In spite of the duke's politics, the men of Neufchâteau very likely sympathized with Baudricourt; at any rate, they received with hospitality the outcasts of Domremy. The family of Arc was lodged for a fortnight in an inn kept by an honest woman named La Rousse, whom Joan helped with the housework, at other times watching the cattle as they fed in their new pastures.[3]

1428.

[1] See P. iv. 326, Doyen de St. Thibaud.

[2] The English gathered a force in 1427, and the war went on during that year and the first part of the next; Luce, cliii. et seq. A truce had been made between France and Burgundy, which covered Vaucouleurs, but this did not protect the place from the English, nor, apparently, from all the followers of Burgundy. Luce, clix. 215, and 211, note.

[3] Luce, clxix. 220; P. i. 51, J.'s test.; ii. 392, Morel; 411, Lacloppe; 428, Gérardin; 431, Joyart. It is not certain that the attack on Vaucouleurs was the cause of the flight to Neufchâteau,

The siege of Vaucouleurs did not last long; Baudricourt was wary and shifty as well as resolute and brave. In some way or other he made peace with the Burgundian captain, and this without an immediate surrender. Perhaps there was a bribe given; some of the Burgundian partisans were not above selling the interest of their English employers for private gain. Perhaps the duke of Burgundy recalled his followers; more than once Philip the Good was seized with a fit of jealousy lest the English should grow too strong, and Baudricourt may have sought his protection. More likely, the captain of Vaucouleurs agreed to surrender the town unless relief came to him by a day fixed. In the fifteenth century such agreements were common, and they provided that, until the day arrived, the garrison should be left in possession and the besiegers withdrawn. At any rate, the Anglo-Burgundian force withdrew, and Baudricourt kept Vaucouleurs for Charles VII.[1]

As soon as the danger was over, the peasants returned to Domremy, and found that the village had been burned. Their cattle were safe, and some of their household goods had been carried to Neufchâteau; their stone cottages were easily roofed again, but signs of the fire remained

but it is altogether probable. See Luce, clxx.; P. ii. 392, note 2. Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, ii. 288, supposes that the flight to Neufchâteau took place in 1425, and that there was no second raid in 1428. Doubtless he succeeds in showing that some of M. Luce's statements regarding the campaign of 1428 are exaggerated, but as to the main fact I think M. Luce is right. Ayroles relies too much upon the legends contained in the letter of Boulainvilliers, and upon the supposed visit of Joan to Vaucouleurs in 1428.

[1] Luce, clxix. 232. See, also, Luce, 323, 328, and the conduct of Philip regarding the siege of Orleans, p. 89, infra. It is probable that the town was not regularly invested. On July 16-17 Antoine de Vergy passed the attacking army in review at St. Urbain, while only two or three days later he notified advancing reinforcements that they were not needed. See Luce, 220; Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, ii. 78, 447.

everywhere, and their church was so far destroyed that mass could be said in it no longer.[1] Its black ruins stood next the garden of Joan's father, on that side of the garden where the vision had first appeared to her. She now understood more fully the meaning of her voices when they told her of the miseries of France.[2]

At this time Joan was in her seventeenth year, a well-grown girl, strong and healthy, dark-haired, with a pleasant face and a sweet voice.[3] She might well think of marrying, and a young man sought her hand. Neither then nor at any time was Joan an ascetic; she kept the fasts of the church, as part of her Christian duty, but she practiced no extraordinary self-mortification. God had called her to do a work, impossible of accomplishment if she married, and, therefore, from the first she vowed to remain a virgin so long as He should please. When her errand was done, her vow would expire, and she, if she were living, would be left a peasant girl of Domremy, like her friends about her.

She refused her suitor without hesitation. He was persistent, and seems to have had the support of her parents; pretending a betrothal, he cited her before the ecclesiastical court of Toul. To Toul she went, seventeen miles away, her voices telling her that she should prevail. Before the judge she swore to tell the truth, and she told it so plainly that her suitor's case was dismissed.[4]

After the burning of Domremy and the lawsuit at Toul, the commands given Joan by her voices became more definite. In the autumn of 1428 the eyes of all Frenchmen were turned to Orleans, against which the

[1] See P. ii. 396, Estellin.

[2] See P. i. 66, 178, J.'s test.; iii. 6, Bastard; 205, Seguin.

[3] See P. iii. 100, 219; iv. 205, 306, 523; v. 107, 108, 120, 133; *Relation inéd. sur J.*, 19; Vallet de Viriville, *Recherches iconographiques.*

[4] P. i. 127, 131, J.'s test.

English had just encamped. If Orleans fell, France was lost. Already Joan had been told that she was to save France; now the voices told her that she must save Orleans. This was not all. Charles VII., though her ruler by divine right, was to her only the Dauphin, the heir to the throne, not her consecrated king. Greatly as she revered him, she would not use the name given him by law and by custom; until his coronation she always called him the Dauphin.[1] This coronation and consecration could be had only at Rheims, and Rheims was in English hands, many miles from the nearest possession of the Armagnacs. As soon as the siege of Orleans was raised, therefore, she must lead the Dauphin to Rheims and see him made a king. What she should do after she had accomplished this, her voices did not direct precisely, but they spoke to her somewhat vaguely of driving the English from France.

These were the commands laid upon this girl by her heavenly visitors. Joan herself nowise coveted the honor of saving France; unless it were done at God's bidding, she would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses than leave Domremy. More precise and more pressing, however, became the divine command: she must go to Robert of Baudricourt, and ask him for an escort to the Dauphin; in vain she answered that she was a poor girl who could neither ride nor lead an army. Two or three times a week the voices bade her go to Vaucouleurs.[2]

She trusted her secret to no one, not even to the priest, — silent not only from natural reserve, but also because she feared hindrance in her work. To a girl living in a small village, however, absolute concealment of her feelings was almost impossible. Once or twice when the Armagnacs in the village became discouraged, or when some stray Burgundian sympathizer began to

[1] P. ii. 456, Poulengy ; iii. 20, Garivel ; iv. 206, *Chron. Puc.*

[2] P. i. 52, J.'s test.

boast, Joan was tempted to hint darkly that help would come to France.[1] By reason, perhaps, of some such hint, or of her stern refusal to marry, her father became suspicious, and dreamed of her departure. With natural feeling, the rude peasant told his household that he would rather drown his daughter than let her go off with the soldiers.[2] As winter came on, the siege of Orleans was pushed more vigorously, and more urgent became the commands of Joan's voices; for three years they had constantly guided her, and she could not disobey them.

[1] P. ii. 440, Lebuin. I am inclined to think that Joan's public career made these hints seem more definite when remembered than when they were uttered.

[2] P. i. 131, J.'s test. See iv. 205, *Chron. Puc.*

CHAPTER IV.

VAUCOULEURS.

In the hamlet of Little Burey, or Burey en Vaux,[1] on the road between Domremy and Vaucouleurs, lived Durand Laxart, a laborer, the husband of Joan le Vauseul, who was a cousin of Joan of Arc.[2] Joan could not go directly from Domremy to Robert of Baudricourt, for if her father should learn her plan, he would certainly prevent her departure. Burey, ten or eleven miles from Domremy, was only about three miles from Vaucouleurs, and if Laxart could be persuaded to help her, it would be easy to reach Vaucouleurs from his house. In the last days of 1428, or at the beginning of 1429, his wife was to be confined, and Joan offered herself as nurse.[3] Laxart came to Domremy accordingly, and fetched away his young cousin.[4] A girl, leaving her home for a few days' nursing, does not make much stir even in a small village, and the stories of the neighbors who, twenty-five years afterwards, described Joan's departure and her farewells can hardly be trusted.[5] To Joan

January, 1429.

[1] P. ii. 443. P. Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, ii. 319 et seq., argues that Burey le Petit is not Burey en Vaux, but Burey la Côte, now a smaller village about five miles from Domremy, and about nine miles from Vaucouleurs. On the whole, however, it is probable that Laxart lived in Burey en Vaux. If Joan had stayed within five miles of her father's house, after announcing her intention of visiting Charles VII., it is hard to see why he did not interfere.

[2] See Labourasse, *Vouthon-haut et ses seigneurs*, 168; Boucher de Molandon, *Famille de J.* 43.

[3] P. ii. 428, Gérardin.

[4] P. ii. 444, Laxart; see i. 53, J.'s test.

[5] See P. ii. 416, Guillemette.

herself, however, her departure must have had the intensest interest. She was not unmindful of her duty to her father and mother, and in all other matters she had always obeyed them; but since God had commanded her to go to the Dauphin, go she must. Had she a hundred fathers and a hundred mothers, as she told her judges, God's orders must be obeyed.[1] Afterwards she asked and received her parents' pardon for her disobedience.

Soon after her arrival at Burey, apparently, the child was born. In a week or thereabouts, she told Laxart that she must go to the Dauphin and cause him to be crowned; for which purpose she must visit Vaucouleurs at once, and get an escort from Baudricourt.[2] Laxart's astonishment may be imagined when he heard this proposal from a young girl whom he had probably known from a child; but Joan insisted. Her voices not only had told her to go to the Dauphin, but had assured her that she should reach him, and her faith was as strong as her obedience was ready. She said nothing to Laxart about her visions, though she told him that she was fulfilling the will of God; but she recalled to him a prophecy, well known the country round, that France should be ruined by a woman, and restored by a maid from the borders of Lorraine.[3] The woman, as most people were ready to agree, was Isabeau of Bavaria, the wretched mother of Charles VII. Laxart, a commonplace peasant, could not resist the enthusiasm and the strong will of his cousin; he soon yielded, and they left Burey together on their errand.[4]

[1] P. i. 129, J.'s test.

[2] P. i. 53; ii. 444.

[3] Ib.

[4] According to Joan, P. i. 53, she stayed in Burey about a week; according to Laxart, ii. 443, about six weeks. The second reckoning doubtless includes Joan's whole stay, the first only the time before her first visit to Vaucouleurs. Even so, Laxart's recollections, more than twenty years after the event, probably made the time rather too long.

At Vaucouleurs (the valley of color), the valley of the Meuse is a little narrower than at Domremy, and the town, beginning on the meadows, extended part way up the steep slopes of the low hills. Being a walled town, it was closely built with narrow streets, its castle in its highest quarter, though even the castle was so commanded by the top of the hill up whose side it was built that its defense must have been difficult. In the town lived about three thousand people; it was held by Baudricourt with a small body of soldiers, wild and brutal, like the men whose deeds have been described.

Of these men Robert of Baudricourt was the fit captain. He seems to have been faithful to Charles VII., though it is impossible to know how far his course was determined by mere self-interest. He was brave, of course, — excepting Charles himself, no man was ever suspected of cowardice in those days; he was shrewd and shifty, or he would have lost Vaucouleurs long before. Greedy and unscrupulous, he lived off the plunder which he gathered from the peasants of the country and from the merchants who traveled through it. He was by one degree more respectable than a roving highwayman, for he was married to a rich and noble widow, and was fixed in Vaucouleurs, the garrison of which he had commanded for twelve years or more.[1]

One day, early in January, Joan and her cousin walked through the streets of the town and went up to see the captain. Laxart was a common country laborer; Joan a strong, well-made girl, dark-haired, rather pretty, dressed in coarse red stuff, like peasant girls of her condition.[2]

[1] Luce, 76. For Baudricourt, see Luce, cl., clxii. 79, 161, 211, 225, 306, 347, 359. As late as 1450 his men were plundering the merchants of Metz. Huguenin, *Chron. Messines*, 270, 283. See, also, Servais, *Annales du Barrois*, ii. 131, n. ; Lecoy, *Hist. du roi René*, i. 69, 77. He died about 1454. P. i. 53, n.

[2] P. ii. 436, Metz ; 457, Poulengy. See Vallet de Viriville, *Recherches iconog.*, 3, n. In the testimony of Bertrand of Poulengy,

Once in Baudricourt's presence, she told him earnestly that she must go to help Charles VII.[1] Laxart, who had come to believe in her, also urged her request.

Baudricourt, as much amused as astonished, naturally gave little heed to what she said. Sensual, as well as brutal, he looked at her to see if she would satisfy his lust or that of his soldiers, then, changing his mind, he told Laxart to take her back to her father's house and give her a sound whipping. With this sensible advice, he sent them away, and they both went back to Burey.[2]

Nothing more discouraging, nothing more humiliating could have happened, yet Joan's faith in her voices was not shaken. They had told her before, and they told her still, that she must raise the siege of Orleans and crown the Dauphin; she was sure that they spoke the truth. A few days later she went again to Vaucouleurs, determined to stay there until she should find an escort to

given in 1456, is the following statement, P. ii. 456: "Joan the Maid came to Vaucouleurs about Ascension, as it seems to him (*circa Ascensionem Domini, ut sibi videtur*), and then he saw her speak to Robert of Baudricourt," etc. If Poulengy's memory can be relied upon, and if he was correctly reported, Joan's first visit to Vaucouleurs was in the spring or early summer of 1428. This visit, however, rests upon the single word "Ascensionem," and can hardly be reconciled with well-established facts. Laxart, Metz, and Joan herself make no mention of a visit in 1428, and the tenor of their testimony makes it highly improbable that seven or eight months elapsed between Joan's first visit to Vaucouleurs and her acceptance by Baudricourt. Moreover, if she had made the attempt in 1428, she must have gone back to Domremy afterwards, of which there is no evidence, and her father would not have allowed her to go again to Laxart. Poulengy makes Joan say that "her Lord would give (the Dauphin) help before the middle of Lent," — an unlikely remark to make at Ascension, but likely enough at Epiphany. For "Ascensionem" I should read "Circumcisionem," January 1; or perhaps Poulengy, who testified in French, spoke of the Nativity or the Baptism of our Lord, December 25 or January 13.

[1] P. i. 53, J.'s test.; ii. 444, Laxart. [2] P. iv. 118, 205.

Charles, for without an escort she knew that the journey could not be made. This time, also, Laxart went with her, and found her lodgings with Catherine le Royer, the young wife of a respectable citizen. There Joan stayed a week or more, telling every one she met that God willed her to go to the noble Dauphin, saying nothing of her visions, but repeating the old proverb which she had quoted to Laxart. Most of the time she sat spinning in the house with her hostess, with whom she also went to church, and there confessed to Fournier, curate of Vaucouleurs. She seemed a good, simple, sweet, and gentle girl, Catherine said.[1]

Near the castle was a royal chapel, where, as one of the little choir boys long afterwards remembered, Joan used often to come in the morning to hear mass. The hill on which the chapel stood was so steep that, on its eastern side, the crypt below the chapel was open to the light; and there also the boy saw Joan, kneeling before a shrine of the Virgin, sometimes with her head bowed down, and again with her face raised to heaven.[2]

Vaucouleurs was a small town, and Joan's story was soon known both to the citizens and the soldiers. At her first coming Baudricourt had given her little thought. He had supposed her to be only a foolish girl; but now he began to wonder if she were not possessed by a spirit of some sort, and he wished to find out if this spirit were good or bad. While Joan and Catherine were at home one day, he walked into the house, accompanied by the curate, John Fournier. The priest was duly robed, and in the appointed form he proceeded to exorcise the girl's familiar spirit, calling upon it to depart, if it were evil; to draw near, if it were good. Joan went up to him at once and reproached him, telling him that he had

[1] P. ii. 445, 448, Catherine and Henry le Royer. Families of Royer still live in Vaucouleurs. Chabannes, *Vierge de Lorraine*, 30.

[2] P. ii. 460, Jean le Fumeux.

heard her in confession, and knew what sort of a girl she was. The two men then went away, Baudricourt unsettled in his mind, but still unwilling to authorize so foolish an expedition as that which Joan proposed.[1]

Not long afterwards John of Metz, a hard-swearing and lawless soldier,[2] stopped at Le Royer's house out of curiosity. He had heard of Joan, and thought he would draw her out by mocking her. "My dear," he said, "what are you doing here? Must the king be driven from his kingdom and must we all turn English?" "I have come to a royal city," Joan answered, "to tell Robert of Baudricourt to send me to the Dauphin, but he cares not for me or for my words. Nevertheless, before mid-Lent, I must be with the Dauphin, though I have to wear my legs down to my knees. No one in the world, neither kings, nor dukes, nor king of Scotland's daughter,[3] nor any one else can recover the kingdom of France without help from me, though I would rather spin by my mother's side, since this is not my calling. But I must go and do this work, for my Lord wishes me to do it." The answer was not what John of Metz had expected. "Who is your Lord?" he asked in astonishment. "God," said Joan. Coarse, reckless soldier that he was, he grasped her hand and swore on his honor that, with God as their leader, he would take her to the king. He asked her when she wished to start. "Rather now than to-morrow, rather to-morrow than afterwards," she said.[4]

[1] P. ii. 446, Catherine le Royer.

[2] For John of Metz, see Luce, 160, 171. He was born in 1398, and ennobled in 1441. P. v. 363.

[3] On July 19, 1428, an agreement had been made between Charles VII. and James I. of Scotland for the marriage of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., to Margaret, James's daughter. At the same time James agreed to send an army to the help of Charles. See Beaucourt, ii. 397. The marriage took place June 25, 1436, and Margaret died childless August 16, 1445.

[4] P. ii. 436, Metz. According to Metz, J. called Charles VII.

It was impossible to start at once. Baudricourt had not given his consent, and the ardor of John of Metz may have cooled a little when he came to think over what he had promised. One after another, however, the people of Vaucouleurs began to believe in Joan. Bertrand of Poulengy, another rude soldier, offered to join John of Metz as her escort,[1] and James Alain, a friend of Laxart, living at Vaucouleurs, was ready to help her as best he could. Yet Joan was impatient of the delay, knowing that Orleans could not hold out forever. The time hung heavy on her hands, said her hostess, as if she had been a woman with child.

When they found that Baudricourt was not willing to help her, Joan and her friends began to look elsewhere, and bethought themselves of the neighboring duke of Lorraine. Joan was somewhat cast down, not through want of faith in her divine mission, but because of the obstacles which unbelieving men like Baudricourt were putting in her way. She was the more ready, therefore, to follow the advice of Laxart and the others, and she set out from Vaucouleurs for Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, to ask the duke's help.[2]

"king," but the word was probably "dauphin." Metz's error in recollection would be very natural.

[1] For Poulengy, see Luce, 143. He was born in 1392.

[2] This visit to Nancy is not altogether easy to explain. Luce, excviii., supposes its cause to have been the curiosity of the duke and of René of Bar. M. Luce's reasons do not seem cogent, and, moreover, it is quite clear that Joan would not have gone to Nancy on any such errand. She certainly did not go to Lorraine altogether or principally to make the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Nicholas; the pilgrimage was an incident of the journey. It seems to me more likely that the visit was planned by Laxart, Alain, and the rest, in order to get help for Joan's journey into France. The duke's safe-conduct was got somehow or other, perhaps by playing upon his curiosity without Joan's knowledge. Joan seems to have believed that he had bidden her to come to him, but she would hardly have gone unless she had expected help in her mission. See P. i. 53, J.'s test.; ii. 391, 406, 437, 444, 447, 457.

Charles II. of Lorraine was a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and was a vassal of the king of France for but a small part of his great possessions. For this small part he had sworn allegiance to King Henry, and so was professedly on the Anglo-Burgundian side. His sympathies, however, were doubtful, and his son-in-law and heir presumptive, René of Anjou, was not only a prince of the French blood-royal, but also the brother-in-law of Charles VII. This René, duke of Bar, was Joan's feudal overlord, and was well known to favor the Armagnac party, though at times forced to come to terms with the English. It is probable that Laxart and John of Metz, in taking Joan to Nancy, reckoned on his influence, for he had just joined his father-in-law in that city.[1] Duke Charles was an elderly man, already sick of a mortal disease, but living in such open immorality as to scandalize his people.[2] He seems to have hoped that Joan would work some miracle for his cure, and so he sent her a safe-conduct which not only bound him to allow her to return to Vaucouleurs, but also gave her some protection against the bands of soldiers infesting the country.

Now that she was to live among men, Joan perceived that she must change the clothes she wore. If she was to be safe among coarse and sensual soldiers, she must herself dress like a soldier. It needed no voice from heaven to tell her this. Indeed, she always considered her revelations as given to direct her in extraordinary affairs, not as supplying the need in ordinary matters of good common sense. They had told her to go to Charles VII., for instance, to raise the siege of Orleans, and afterwards to crown the Dauphin at Rheims. These things she would never have thought of undertaking except by divine command. Her voices had told her, also, to go to Baudri-

[1] See Luce, cxcviii. René was born in 1408, and married in 1420.

[2] For his mistress, Alison du May, see Badel, *J. à Nancy*, 35.

court and ask his help; but this only as a means to an end, so that when he would not send her to the Dauphin, she tried to get an escort elsewhere. Never did she suppose that God would work for her any unnecessary miracle, or that his commands would excuse her from exercising her best judgment in carrying them out.[1]

Her cousin Laxart and John of Metz lent her some of their clothes, accordingly;[2] and toward the end of Janu-

[1] The precise reasons which made Joan put on men's clothes have been much discussed. Probably she herself could not have explained the matter quite definitely. On the whole, however, it seems probable that she did not wear them in direct obedience to what she supposed to be a specific divine command, but rather treated them as means necessary to carry out the divine commands. Probably, too, one feeling shaded imperceptibly into the other. Though she was usually quite willing to assert for her acts a specific divine command, she was evidently unwilling to do this for her dress, and, when asked about it, generally gave evasive answers. See P. i. 54, 96, 179, 193, 221 et seq., 455. Once or twice, no doubt, she was understood by her examiners to say that God had bidden her wear men's clothes, but probably she meant only to assert that she did not transgress God's commands by wearing them. For example, on February 27 she was asked if He had bidden her wear men's clothes, and she replied "that it is of little consequence about her clothes, and a small matter; she has not put on men's clothes by the counsel of any man in the world; she has not changed her clothes or done anything else except at the bidding of God and his angels." P. i. 74. On the other hand, she declared herself ready to wear woman's dress if the occasion required, *e. g.*, if she were allowed to escape in it, i. 68, 191; at her death, i. 176; if she were transferred to a suitable prison, i. 456; and, perhaps, to receive the Eucharist, i. 164. At her last examination, May 28, when asked why she had again put on men's clothes, she did not plead the divine command, but only decency and a breach of the conditions upon which she had made the first change. P. i. 455. Two things are especially noticeable in her testimony regarding this as well as many other matters: first, her strong desire to shield every one else from blame, and, second, a modesty and reticence in her speech which were unusual in her time. It is in evidence that she enjoyed bright clothes, but there is no reason to suppose that she preferred man's dress for its own sake.

[2] P. ii. 437, Metz; 444, Laxart.

ary, they started for Nancy, passing through Toul on their way, where Joan had gone before to get rid of her troublesome suitor. There John of Metz left them, while Joan with Laxart and Alain traveled fifteen miles further to Nancy.[1]

When Joan saw the duke of Lorraine, she told him, as she had told Baudricourt, that she wished to go to the Dauphin. The duke, however, was much more interested in his own health than in her mission, and asked her to cure him of his disease. She answered that she knew nothing of such matters, but that he was leading an evil life and never would be cured until he amended it. She begged him to send with her to France his son-in-law René and a body of soldiers, and she promised to pray for his recovery. Very soon she found out that he had no intention of helping her, and therefore she said little to him about her mission. The duke gave her a small sum of money and sent her away.[2] Apparently she did not see René; the poor young man, whose duchy of Bar had been unmercifully harried by both sides, despairing of successful resistance to the English, at that very time was preparing to swear allegiance to Henry.[3]

In going to Nancy or in coming back, Joan visited the famous shrine of St. Nicholas, to pray there;[4] but her journey was little delayed, and she reached Vaucouleurs again early in February.[5] Though she had

February, 1429.

[1] P. ii. 447, Catherine le Royer.

[2] P. i. 54, J.'s test.; ii. 444, Laxart; iii. 87, Marg. la Touroulde. I doubt if the duke gave her a horse. Had he done so, there would have been no need of buying another. The story rests altogether upon the testimony of Morel, ii. 391, and of Martigny, 406. Both spoke only from hearsay.

[3] Luce, 239.

[4] P. ii. 447, Catherine le Royer; 457, Poulengy. See, also, Badel, *J. à Nancy*, 24.

[5] John of Metz says that the date was about the first Sunday in Lent, February 13. But I adopt the chronology of the Clerk of La

failed to persuade the duke, yet the belief in her mission was now grown strong in Vaucouleurs, and John of Metz with Bertrand of Poulengy were ready to conduct her to Charles.[1]

Baudricourt's consent was necessary, however; and to him Joan again appealed, urging him to send her forward lest Orleans should fall before she could reach it. As all other means of persuasion had failed, she told him at this time something of her visions and of her voices; just what she said we do not know.[2] He was not convinced, but he decided to try the experiment, and yielded, though with doubt and reluctance.[3]

Meantime, the people of Vaucouleurs, joining together, had bought for Joan men's clothes suited to her journey and to an appearance at court. She put on a close-fitting black vest, to which were fastened trunks and long stockings; over the vest she wore a short, dark gray cloak; her hat was black. Her dark hair was cut short and round, in saucer fashion, as men then wore it. Booted and spurred, with a sword at her side, mounted on a horse which Laxart and Alain had given her, but for which Baudricourt afterwards paid, she rode out of the

Rochelle and of M. de Boismarmin, which fixes Joan's departure from Vaucouleurs at or about February 12.

[1] P. ii. 457, Poulengy.

[2] P. i. 128, J.'s test.

[3] The reluctance or indifference of Baudricourt, even at the last, may be inferred from the general drift of the testimony of Laxart, Metz, Poulengy, and the rest; also from his farewell speech to the expedition. No doubt the witnesses at the second trial magnified their own share in helping Joan; but, on the other hand, in Joan's lifetime it is probable that Baudricourt, as the chief man of Vaucouleurs and the neighborhood, got more than his share of the credit of sending her to court.

There is no reason to suppose that any letter was sent by Baudricourt to the king before that which accompanied Joan herself. The fact that a royal messenger happened to be in Vaucouleurs at the time proves nothing.

French Gate on the afternoon of Saturday, February 12, 1429.[1] The two soldiers, Metz and Poulengy, and their two servants escorted her; with them rode Colet of Vienne, a royal courier, and his servant, in all six armed men besides Joan herself. The courier seems to have carried a letter from Baudricourt to the king, giving some account of Joan, and especially mentioning something which Joan had said to him, which was afterwards taken as a miraculous announcement of the battle of the Herrings, fought near Orleans at that very hour.[2] Baudricourt, who knew the character of her escort, made the men swear that they would guide her well and safely; then, as the party rode away, the absurdity of the expedition again struck the grim captain. "Away with you," he called after them, "come what may."[3]

February 12, 1429.

During this time, so far as is known, Joan's father gave no sign. Six weeks or thereabouts had passed since she left Domremy, distant from Vaucouleurs only some thirteen miles. He must have known well what his daughter was doing, and the mere suspicion that she wished to do these things had once made him furious. No certain explanation of his silence can be given; the most probable is to be found in his character and that of the rest of his family. Nothing is known of James of Arc, of his wife, or of his sons, which distinguishes them from other peasants of like condition. Naturally, the men of the family would have prevented Joan's departure; but after she had gone, they were either too angry

[1] P. ii. 437, 445, 447, 457; Luce, ccx.; *Rel. inéd.*, 19. See p. 62, note 1, *infra*.

[2] This seems to me the most reasonable explanation. The evidence that Joan really announced the defeat to Baudricourt is quite insufficient, but there can be little doubt that he afterwards believed she had done so. P. iv. 125, 128, 206. Baudricourt's letter would naturally be written just before Joan's departure.

[3] P. i. 55, J.'s test.

or too indifferent to try to bring her back. When she became famous, two of her brothers were quick to join her, and the family lived off her reputation, both while she was alive and after her death.

As her mother, Isabel may have been a little nearer to Joan than a father or a brother, but, as a woman, she was guided entirely by her husband and her sons. Struggling against a will like Joan's, respectable commonplace people would have been powerless, and this they may have recognized.

Joan herself, setting out from Vaucouleurs, did not forget her home and her people. A high-spirited, brave girl, sure of God's direction, must have been excited by the thought of a journey like that before Joan, and doubtless there was a pleasure in the excitement. But Joan had not the personal vanity and the sense of importance which help sustain many honest and devoted enthusiasts. Often she thought of Domremy, and wished she were spinning at her mother's side; then her voices said to her, "Child of God, go, go."

CHAPTER V.

CHINON.

At Chinon in Touraine Charles VII. kept his court. From Vaucouleurs to Chinon was nearly three hundred miles, and the first half of the road lay through a country which acknowledged Henry as king. Joan and her little escort had nothing to fear, indeed, from the country people, for the sympathy of these was with Charles rather than with Henry, and, besides, the frightened peasants were devoutly thankful when half a dozen armed men were willing to ride forward and mind their own business. But through the country were constantly marching detachments of English soldiers, and bands of Burgundian partisans roamed hither and thither; wretched outlaws who obeyed neither king infested the woods, and many castles were held by lords, themselves little better than robbers, who were in the pay of English or Burgundians, or were otherwise allied to the Anglo-Burgundian party. Even in the immediate neighborhood of Vaucouleurs the roads were far from safe.

February 12–23, 1429.

Late in the afternoon, accordingly, Joan set out, and rode on far into the night, until she reached the Benedictine abbey of St. Urbain, on the river Marne. The abbot, a kinsman of Baudricourt, very likely forewarned of her journey, received her with her companions, and lodged them until morning.[1]

The next day, they rode forward across the country.

[1] P. i. 54, J.'s test.; ii. 457, Poulengy; Pimodan, *La première étape de J.*

Metz and Poulengy were hardened soldiers, yet they both feared greatly that the journey never would be accomplished, and they were not ashamed to confess their doubts and fears to Joan. With perfect confidence she assured them that she was but obeying commands laid upon her, and that for years God, her Lord, and her brothers in Paradise had told her she must fight for the salvation of the kingdom. As the days passed, the soldiers came to look on her with reverence and awe. "I think she was sent from God, for she never swore," said John of Metz, who himself had been fined in court for hard and foul swearing. Poulengy told how her words burned in him, and said she was as good a girl as if she had been a saint. Often they avoided the inns and slept in the fields, where Metz and Poulengy, both young men, lay down beside her without thought of impurity. "Freely she gave alms," said Metz, "and many times she gave me money to give for God."[1] The sums must have been small, for she had but a few francs, a present from the duke of Lorraine, perhaps, or from the people of Vaucouleurs; whatever money was her own she usually spent in this way. The expense of the journey was borne by Metz and Poulengy, who were afterwards repaid out of the royal treasury.[2]

As they seldom stopped at an inn for fear of detection, so they dared not go to church. This distressed Joan, who was accustomed to hear mass every day, and who, being on God's errand, wished constantly to ask his help. "If we could hear mass, we should do well," she said; but when they told her it was too dangerous,[3] she did not insist. After they had been out four or five days, they came to Auxerre, a considerable city, belonging to the duke of Burgundy. Like most cities,

[1] P. ii. 437, Metz; 458, Poulengy; and see iii. 15, Bastard; 215, Aulon.

[2] P. v. 257; ii. 437.

[3] P. ii. 438, Metz.

it had a wholesome dread of all bodies of troops, and cared little about the politics of travelers so long as these behaved themselves quietly.[1] The little party mingled with the crowd, and Joan, at least, heard mass in the cathedral;[2] then they stole quietly away and rode westward to Gien.[3]

On Friday or thereabouts they reached Gien, a town on the Loire about forty miles above Orleans, holding for Charles; their danger was now almost over, and Joan spoke freely of her errand. The news spread fast that a maid was come from the borders of Lorraine to raise the siege of Orleans and crown the Dauphin. Everywhere people were excited; in spite of the blockade, men often slipped into Orleans, and messengers from Gien soon told the story in the besieged city. Its commander, the famous Bastard of Orleans, afterwards count of Dunois, at once sent two of his officers to Chinon, whither he knew that Joan was bound.[4]

The news from Orleans which Joan learned at Gien was very discouraging. On the day of her departure from Vaucouleurs had been fought the battle of Rouvray, or of the Herrings, which Baudricourt believed that she had announced to him. It had been a disastrous defeat for the garrison, and had brought both citizens and soldiers to despair. Many captains had slipped out of the city; with them had gone its bishop; and the Bastard, himself wounded, was left there almost alone.[5] No time was to be lost, and Joan impatiently rode forward across the sandy Sologne and the flat fertile country of Touraine.

[1] See Plancher, *Hist. Bourgogne*, iv., lxxxiv.

[2] P. i. 54, J.'s test.

[3] The story of the attempt made by her escort to frighten her may be true, but it is told on no sufficient authority. See P. iii. 199, Lemaistre.

[4] P. iii. 3, Bastard ; 21, Ricarville.

[5] See chap. vii.

The anxiety of Poulengy now took a different turn. Believe in Joan as he might, he could not help wondering what reception they would meet at court. Charles and his councilors might think it all a fool's errand, and he might be left with his money spent, the laughing-stock of his comrades. He told his fears to Joan, of course; she calmly assured him that he need not be afraid, for the Dauphin would receive them kindly when they reached Chinon.[1]

On Monday night or on Tuesday morning they came to St. Catherine of Fierbois, a little village about fifteen miles from Chinon.[2] There they halted, not daring to bring Joan to court until leave should be had of the king. A letter was sent forward, probably by Colet of Vienne, the royal messenger, which set forth that Joan had ridden a hundred and fifty leagues to bring help to Charles, and that she bore good news to him. Joan could not write herself, but the letter was read over to her, and part of it she dictated. A day or more must pass before an answer could come back from Chinon, and she was able to hear three masses in the village church, dedicated to St. Catherine, her daily visitor.[3]

On Wednesday morning a message came from Charles, and they rode on to Chinon. The town is built upon a meadow beside the river Vienne; behind it rises a high perpendicular ledge on which the castle stood. At once a fortress and a palace, it had thick walls, huge towers, and deep moats, which protected great buildings but just constructed, containing lofty rooms lighted by

February 23, 1429.

[1] P. ii. 457, Poulengy; see i. 56, J.'s test. St. Catherine of Fierbois was a well-known resort of pilgrims, especially of those who had been delivered from the English. See Bourassé, *Miracles de Madame Ste. Katherine.*

[2] See Caddy, *Footsteps of J.*, 99; De Cougny, *Charles VII. et J. à Chinon*, 19.

[3] P. i. 75, J.'s test.

large mullioned windows. Joan reached the town about noon, and dined at an inn; after dinner she rode around the western end of the cliff, through a gloomy ravine, made darker by the high walls of the castle, up to its eastern entrance, where the drawbridge crossed a moat hewn in the solid rock. She was led past the modern buildings, across another drawbridge, into the strongest part of the hold, and there lodged in a great tower called of Coudray.[1]

At court in Chinon were many of the royal councilors; among them La Trémoille, the greedy and treacherous favorite already mentioned, eager to get estates from Charles, which he protected from attack by private treaty with the English. He had his followers, such as Regnault of Chartres, archbishop of Rheims and chancellor of France, a selfish and worldly prelate, incapable of finding anything unselfish or unworldly in others.[2] There were courtiers of the less ambitious sort, men who cared little whether Henry or Charles was king, so long as a court was maintained. There were the captains of banditti, who professed to be in Charles's service, Gascons, and Spaniards, and other adventurers, — brave men, who seldom sold themselves to an enemy, but were always ready to put the king's servants to ransom, to plunder and torture the country people, and to hire out for the private wars which La Trémoille, the constable, and other nominal subjects of Charles were incessantly carrying on.[3] The most respectable men at court were clerks and the like officials, men who remembered better times, or at least had better traditions. In the confusion and utter

[1] P. i. 56, J.'s test.; iii. 66, Coutes.

[2] He was born in 1380, died in 1444. See Beaucourt, ii. 90; iii. 276, 371.

[3] *Les La Trémoille pendant cinq siècles*, 163–177; Joubert, *Baronnie de Craon.*, 336, 338; Quicherat, *Aperçus nouveaux*, 21, 25, 27; Beaucourt, ii. 198.

dissolution of authority, these men could do little. In war they were naturally timid, and at this time they were discussing whether Charles had better take refuge in Dauphiny or in Languedoc, when Orleans should fall, and the barrier of the Loire should be forced by the English.[1] The Bastard, Charles's best general, was at Orleans; his mother-in-law, Yolande, his wisest counselor, seems to have been at Angers, living on her estates.

Five hundred years ago, however contemptible personally a king might be, his personality was important to his kingdom. Seldom has a king lived who deserved greater contempt than did Charles VII. Weak in body and mind, idle, lazy, luxurious, and cowardly, he was naturally the puppet of his worst courtiers, and the despair of those who hoped for reform.[2] "How many times have poor human creatures come to you to bewail the grievous extortion practiced upon them! Alas, well might they cry, 'Why sleepest thou, O Lord!' But they could arouse neither you nor those about you." So wrote an excellent official who helped to make illustrious the later years of the reign.[3]

The child of a crazy father and a licentious mother, Charles, as has been said already, was at times frivolous and splendor-loving, at times gloomy and solitary. "Never a king lost his kingdom so gayly," was a saying fathered upon La Hire, a fierce Gascon soldier, and the acknowledged wit of France.[4] Most of the money that the king could raise was spent in luxurious living or given to favorites. He had pledged Chinon itself to La Trémoille, until the favorite became dissatisfied with the

[1] P. iv. 127, *Journ. Siège.*

[2] In speaking of the fifteenth century the word "reform" sounds misplaced and modern. Yet reform, in the modern sense of an ill-defined improvement of all branches of the government, was the incessant demand of Frenchmen between 1380 and 1450.

[3] Jean Juvénal des Ursins. See Beaucourt, ii. 200.

[4] See Beaucourt, ii. 191.

security, as being of too little value and too likely to be taken by the English.[1] Charles's extravagance often left him wretchedly poor, and so the story went about that a cobbler, who had mended one of his boots and could not get payment, tore out the work and left the king to walk about in holes.

> "La Hire and Pothon went one day
> To see him, when for banquet gay
> The courtiers did themselves regale
> With chickens two and a sheep's tail,"

sang a rhyming chronicler of the palace.[2] At times, again, the king brooded apart, in hopeless prayer, almost ready to abandon the contest and to believe himself a bastard, no true heir to the throne.

On reaching Chinon, Joan at once asked to see the Dauphin, but this his advisers would not allow. Some of them went to her and inquired her errand. At first she refused to speak to any one except Charles; but when she was told that he would not see her unless she first told her errand, she said to them plainly that she had two commands laid upon her by the King of Heaven, one, to raise the siege of Orleans, the other, to lead Charles to Rheims that he might be crowned and consecrated there. Meantime, Metz and Poulengy were talking everywhere about her goodness, and the wonderful safety they had enjoyed during the long journey which they had taken together.[3]

Joan's visitors were not disinclined to believe her inspired, but it seemed possible that her inspiration might come from hell rather than from heaven. For Charles to receive a witch into his presence would endanger his person, and, besides, would greatly discredit his majesty.[4]

[1] *Les La Trémoille*, 177. See Beaucourt, ii. 198.
[2] Martial d'Auvergne. See Beaucourt, ii. 195.
[3] P. iii. 75, Thibault; 115, Simon Charles; see v. 100.
[4] P. iv. 362, Monstrelet.

Certain clerks and priests, accordingly, men expert in discerning good spirits from bad, were appointed to examine Joan. They could find no harm in her, but yielded to her simple faith, and told Charles that, as she professed to bring him a message from God, at least he ought to hear her. He yielded reluctantly, and fixed a time for the audience, some two or three days after her arrival.[1]

It was evening, and the great hall of the palace, lighted by dozens of torches, was filled with curious courtiers and with the royal guard. Louis of Bourbon, count of Vendôme, led Joan into the room, dressed in black and gray, — the man's dress she had worn upon her journey. She had been praying, and beside the glare of the torches, she saw the light which usually came with her voices. As she entered, Charles drew aside, thinking to puzzle her and try her miraculous powers, but by the counsel of her voices, as she afterwards said, she knew him, and made to him a dutiful obeisance. "Gentle Dauphin," she began, "I have come to you on a message from God, to bring help to you and to your kingdom." She went on to declare more particularly that she was bidden to raise the siege of Orleans and to conduct him to Rheims.[2]

Charles talked with her a little while, and then sent her away, back to the tower. There she was cared for by one William Bellier, an officer of the castle, and by his wife, a matron of character and piety.[3] Again Joan was impatient of delay, and expected to be sent to Orleans at once with an army of relief. This was impossible for more reasons than one. The king's counselors could not yet make up their minds

Feb. 23–March 10, 1429.

[1] P. iii. 115, S. Charles ; v. 118, Boulainvilliers.

[2] P. i. 56, 57, 75, J.'s test. ; iii. 4, Bastard ; 103, Pasquerel ; 116, S. Charles.

[3] P. iii. 17, Gaucourt.

to trust her entirely, and, besides, soldiers and money were wholly wanting. A month before, by what had seemed at court a superhuman effort, an army had been raised and sent to Orleans. It had been defeated at Rouvray, and had since disbanded; no intention remained of relieving the city, though there was still some idle talk of it.[1]

Day after day all sorts of people visited Joan to test her in different ways. A little boy, who afterwards became her page, and who then lived in the tower, watched her taken back and forth to talk with the king, and often saw great men going to her room. Churchmen tested her orthodoxy; captains asked her about her knowledge of war; and, as the belief of the day made her supposed miraculous power rest upon her virginity, certain noble dames examined her to discover if she was a virgin. Impatient as she was, she answered them all so aptly, and was so gentle and simple, that all who met her grew to believe in her.[2]

Within a week of Joan's coming to Chinon, a royal messenger summoned to court a young prince of the blood, John, duke of Alençon.[3] Though the duke was a brave and warlike young man, who had been taken prisoner in battle when only fifteen years old, yet so complete was the demoralization of the French that he was found on his estates hunting quails, and quite indifferent to the peril of the kingdom. When the messenger told him that a young girl had come to the king declaring herself sent by God to drive out the English and raise

[1] See P. iv. 3, Cagny.

[2] P. iii. 66, Coutes ; 102, Pasquerel.

[3] Alençon was born in 1409 ; in 1415 he succeeded his father, who was killed at Agincourt ; in 1423 he married Joan, daughter of Charles of Orleans ; was taken prisoner at Verneuil in 1424 ; refused to acknowledge Henry VI. ; was ransomed in 1426. See Cagny, *Chron.*, 85 recto, 86 r. ; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. xxxii. ; Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 577, ii. 1007 ; Wavrin du Forestel, ed. Dupont, i. 273.

the siege of Orleans, both his curiosity and chivalry were aroused, and he went at once to Chinon, reaching the court on the next day. He found Joan speaking with the king, who was still uncertain whether to trust her or not. She noticed the duke, and asked who he was. "It is the duke of Alençon," said Charles. "You are very welcome," said Joan to the duke. "The more princes of the blood are here together the better." The young man was charmed by her bearing, and she was pleased by his open face and his courtesy; they were soon fast friends, and the "gentle duke," the "fair duke," as Joan used to call him, became her closest comrade in arms.[1]

The council had come to no decision, the churchmen still visited Joan, and Charles still talked with her in the vain attempt to make up his mind. With her exalted ideas of his divine right, and with the notions of kingly power that belong to simple people, Joan naturally believed that she had but to win him over in order to make all go well. To others she said as little as possible about her mission, but to him she spoke freely, regarding him with a loyalty which never wavered, and which contrasted strangely with her shrewd judgment of other men. The day after Alençon's arrival she went to mass with the king, who was regular in his devotions. Afterwards, he led her into a chamber of the castle, having with him only the duke and La Trémoille. As has been said, Joan believed in his divine right to the throne, but she believed that his right was that of God's vicegerent. She therefore begged him to offer his kingdom to the King of Heaven, and she assured him that thereafter the King of Heaven would do for him as He had done for his ancestors, and would restore him to his former estate.

[1] P. iii. 91, Alençon. Joan may have intended to refer to the quarrels of the king's kinsmen, which had brought on the civil war and the English invasion. She was both shrewd and frank enough to do so.

They talked until dinner-time, and after dinner went together to ride in the meadows by the river. Until her journey to Lorraine it is likely that Joan had never mounted a horse, and she was as unfamiliar with soldierly exercise as any farmer's daughter to-day. So complete, however, was her trust in herself as God's messenger, or rather, so completely did she forget herself in her faith in the message, that she guided her horse and wielded her lance to the wonder of all who saw her. The young duke was so much pleased that he gave her a horse on the spot.[1]

In spite of Joan's increasing influence over both churchmen and captains, the king still wavered, and La Trémoille was indifferent. The favorite had not yet come to dread her power and to intrigue against her as he did a few months later, but on the whole he was disinclined to action. Joan was still examined and cross-examined by the king's confessor and by others. She answered discreetly concerning her voices and the message from the King of Heaven; but she told Alençon, as they dined together one day, that she knew more than she had told her questioners.[2] She thought it strange that men could doubt that which was so plain to her. The little boy who lived with her in the tower often saw her on her knees with her lips moving, as if in prayer; what she said he could not hear, but he saw that she was crying. She herself testified that she prayed to God and to her voices to turn the king's heart, and to deliver her from the churchmen.

Charles VII. was a weak and contemptible man, as has been said, but after all he was human. Not only did Joan's simple faith impress him, as it impressed all others who saw her, but her entire trust in him gave him for the moment some courage and self-reliance. In times of despondency he had doubted if his blood were that of

[1] P. iii. 91 ; iv. 486, Windecken. [2] P. iii. 92, Alençon.

the kings of France, or that of some nameless favorite of his mother, a doubt not unreasonable when the licentiousness of Isabeau is considered and the madness of Charles VI. One day Joan found him in this mood. La Trémoille, Alençon, and one or two others were with him also, though it is quite possible they did not hear what passed between Joan and Charles. The precise words spoken are not certainly known, but Joan said to Charles something which removed the doubts of the wretched man, and seemed to him an oracle sent from heaven to answer his prayers. A courtier noticed that his face was cheerful as he came from the interview, and there was such a change in his manner that Joan gladly believed it to be the work of God, to whom she had prayed for the purpose.[1]

Thus far, however, she had gained for herself only a serious hearing. The king's confessor found her orthodoxy unimpeachable. The king himself believed that she had wrought a miracle in reading his inmost thoughts. She had fired the zeal of the captains, and had shamed them into some hope of saving France; she had charmed the ladies of the court by her modesty; while the common people were telling wonderful stories of her exploits and adventures.[2] To bring this about in a fortnight was no mean exploit for a girl of seventeen, though Joan, believing God to be the author of the whole work, wondered only that any one should hesitate for a moment to trust his messenger. To the royal councilors doubt was natural; the examination of Joan at Chinon, however tedious to her, was by them considered only as the introduction to a more formal investigation which was to be

[1] P. iv. 258, 271, 280; v. 133, letter of Alain Chartier. See iii. 116, S. Charles; and Basin, *Hist. Charles VII.*, Lib. II. ch. x. The details of the story of the secret revealed to Charles are doubtless legendary, but there was probably basis for it in fact.

[2] See P. iii. 203, Seguin; v. 115 et seq., Boulainvilliers.

made at Poitiers. Thither Joan was sent, accordingly, about March 10, though it is not unlikely that some preparation was made at once for the relief of Orleans.[1]

[1] See P. iv. 128, *Journ. Siège.*

According to an anonymous chronicler, P. iv. 313, Joan reached Chinon March 6. The entry in the *Chronique de Mont St. Michel*, ed. Luce, i. 30, is merely a copy of the statement just cited. The *Livre Noir* of La Rochelle, Quicherat, *Rel. inéd. sur J.*, 19, gives the date as February 23; and I agree with M. de Boismarmin (*Mém. sur l'arrivée de J. à Chinon*, in *Bull. Hist. et Philol. du comité des trav. hist. et scient.*, 1892, p. 350), that the earlier date is the more probable.

The letter to the English was written from Poitiers on March 22. If Joan did not reach Chinon until March 6, it is difficult to find sufficient time for the events which undoubtedly took place between her arrival at that place and the writing of the letter. She could hardly have passed less than ten or twelve days at Chinon. It was two days before she saw the king [see P. iii. 4, Bastard; 115, Simon Charles], and a day or two more before she saw the duke of Alençon. On the day after his arrival occurred the ride through the meadows by the river. Thereafter a committee was appointed to examine her. The examination took place, a favorable report was made, and the king and Joan started for Poitiers. For the length of Joan's stay at Chinon, see, also, P. iii. 66, Coutes. If she arrived at Chinon on March 6, therefore, she could not well have arrived at Poitiers before March 19 or 20, and, while the testimony is not positive, yet its tendency indicates decidedly that more than two or three days elapsed between her arrival and the dispatch of the letter to the English on March 22. Moreover, there is an entry in the MS. Gaignières, 286, f. 2, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, stating that Charles was at Poitiers March 11. The entry occurs in a list of places and dates confusedly thrown together to show the itinerary of the kings of France. The list is of considerable age, but no authorities are given, and some of the entries are manifestly incorrect. For example, on April 9, Charles is said to have been at Beaugency, which place remained in the hands of the English until June 18. Still, though the authority of the MS. Gaignières is not to be trusted implicitly, yet it is entitled to some weight, and it agrees perfectly with the natural order of things, supposing that Joan reached Chinon on February 23. This would give a fortnight or thereabouts for the events which took place at Chinon, and rather more than ten days for the examination at Poitiers and the other events which happened there before the letter was written. Again, if Joan reached

Chinon on February 23, she must have left Vaucouleurs February 12 or 13. On February 12 was fought the battle of the Herrings, and Baudricourt is said to have written a letter, mentioning Joan's announcement of the battle at the very hour when the battle took place. Now the letter which Baudricourt sent off with Joan was probably written very near the moment of her departure. If she left Vaucouleurs late in the afternoon of February 12, Baudricourt's letter would probably have been written at or about noon on that day, the very moment when the battle was taking place. If, on the other hand, she did not reach Chinon until March 6, she did not leave Vaucouleurs until February 23, in which case, news of the battle of the Herrings would have reached Baudricourt before her departure, of which the contrary is implied in the *Journ. Siège*, P. iv. 128. For the full discussion of this not very important matter, see the monograph of M. de Boismarmin, cited above.

CHAPTER VI.

POITIERS.

For eighteen years, from 1418 to 1436, loyal France had no capital. Paris was in the hands of the English, and among the cities faithful to Charles VII. there was none important enough to take its place. The king lived much at Bourges, — which still shows traces of the royal residence, — sometimes at Tours, oftener in his castellated palaces of Chinon and Mehun sur Yêvre. To maintain the judicial system, however, it was necessary that the court of appeal should have a safe place for its sittings, and in September, 1418, some four months after the fall of Paris, the Armagnacs established at Poitiers a parliament or court, to take the place of that which still sat in Paris, but now served the interests of the Anglo-Burgundian party. To this court were summoned several excellent officials, learned in the law, who had followed the Dauphin in his flight. The sittings of the court and the presence of these men drew to Poitiers not only the lawyers of the kingdom, both ecclesiastical and lay, but so many learned men besides that in 1431, only two years after Joan's visit, a university was founded there, with faculties of theology, law, medicine, and arts. In this city, if anywhere in Charles's dominions, it seemed probable that men might be found able to discern between good spirits and bad.[1]

Mar. 10–22, 1429.

[1] See Beaucourt, i. 352; ii. 571; Neuville, in *Revue Hist.*, t. vi. 1, 272; Péchenard, *Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, 79; Flandin, *Parlement de Poitiers sous Charles VII.*; Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, 242, and *Université de la ville de Poitiers*, bound in the same volume. Doubtless

To Poitiers Joan went, accordingly, the king with her, and some of his councilors.[1] The distance is about fifty miles, and the ride probably took two days. On her arrival in the city, she was lodged at the house of the attorney-general, John Rabateau, a man of wealth and distinction, married to a discreet wife. In the house was a little chapel, where Joan went to pray, both after her meals and sometimes in the night.[2]

A meeting of the royal council was soon held, over which presided the archbishop of Rheims, then chancellor of France. The council appointed a committee of investigation, which included several professors of theology, an abbot, a canon of Poitiers, and one or two friars.[3] Escorted by a squire, this committee went to visit Joan at Rabateau's house. When they entered, she came to meet them; but the sight of the priests irritated her, as she recollected the prolonged examinations to which the clergy had subjected her at Chinon, and so she went up to the squire, whose military dress pleased her, clapped him on the shoulder, and told him that she wished she had more men of his way of thinking. The abbot gravely informed her that the committee had been sent to her from the king. "I am quite ready to believe that you

the university, also, was intended to rival that in Paris. When the English lost Paris in 1436, they in turn established a university at Caen.

[1] John l'Archier was then mayor. See list of mayors in Bouchet, p. 61. It is almost certain that Charles went with Joan to Poitiers. *Archives de la Vienne, Mémoires des antiquités de l'Ouest*, xv. 82; *Lettres orig. fran. Gaignières*, 896, i. f. 25; P. iii. 209, 210, Aulon; *Rel. inéd. sur J.*, 19. One or two persons say that Charles sent Joan to Poitiers (Garivel, Barbin, Simon Charles), but such doubtful testimony cannot outweigh the strong evidence of his presence in Poitiers. Perhaps Joan did not travel in company with the king.

[2] P. iii. 19, Garivel; 74, Thibault; 82, Barbin. See Ledain, *J. à Poitiers*, and P. iii. 209.

[3] See Raguenet de St. Albin, *Les juges de J. à Poitiers.*

have been sent to examine me," she answered. "I know neither A nor B."[1]

Naturally, Joan's impatience did not deter the committee from proceeding to the investigation, and they began to ply her with questions. Some one, apparently the abbot, asked her why she had come to court. "I am come from the King of Heaven," Joan answered, "to raise the siege of Orleans, and to lead the Dauphin to Rheims, for his coronation and consecration." "But what made you think of coming?" asked a professor of theology. Joan disliked to talk of her visions, as has been said, but she saw the need of some explanation, and she told them how her voices had bidden her go to France, nothing doubting, since God had great pity on its people. "You tell us," said William Aymery, another professor, "that God wishes to free the people of France from their distress. If He wishes to free them, there is no need of the soldiers you ask for." "In God's name," said Joan, "the men-at-arms will fight, and God will give the victory." With which reply Master William himself was content, as one of his colleagues testified.

This colleague, Seguin, a Carmelite friar of learning and repute,[2] next took his turn. He was a native of Limoges, speaking the dialect of his province. Out of curiosity, or merely for the sake of cross-examination, he asked Joan in what language her voices spoke to her. "In a better than yours," said the girl, exasperated by what she thought a frivolous question. "Do you believe in God?" asked the undaunted friar. "Better than you do," Joan answered, this time in all seriousness. Seguin then told her that God did not wish them to trust her without receiving some sign or credential, and he added that they could not advise the king to risk his sol-

[1] P. iii. 19, Garivel ; 74, Thibault ; 83, Barbin ; 203, Seguin.

[2] See *Université de la ville de Poitiers*, 1.

diers on the strength of her simple word. "In God's name, I have not come to show signs in Poitiers; but lead me to Orleans and I will show you the signs for which I am sent." The severe Carmelite friar was frank enough to tell this tale of his own discomfiture.

The sober churchmen listened as Joan went on to tell them what was to happen in France. The English should be overthrown and Orleans should be relieved; the Dauphin should be crowned at Rheims; Paris should return to its rightful lord; and the captive duke of Orleans should be brought back from England. First of all, the English must be summoned to withdraw, and, turning to a professor who stood by, she bade him write in the name of the King of Heaven to Suffolk and the other English captains before Orleans. The committee had heard enough, and went back to the council; it is likely that Joan went into Rabateau's chapel to pray.[1]

She had no great reason to complain of the delay of her examiners at Poitiers, though some further inquiry was made into her character. There were men at court disgusted with the cowardice and treachery of La Trémoille, and not unwilling to fight for France; the energy of these men was roused by Joan's enthusiasm. Charles's mother-in-law, Yolande,[2] was come to Poitiers. She examined Joan herself, and made her report to the council, which had met again to consider what advice should be given to the king.[3] There was some discussion; the members of the committee told the story of their interview with Joan, saying that she had answered as if she were a clerk, and asserting their own belief that she was sent from God.

[1] P. iii. 74, Thibault; 205, Seguin. See P. iv. 211, *Chron. Puc.*

[2] She had already advanced money to help the defense of Orleans. Loiseleur, *Compte des dépenses*, 179.

[3] P. iii. 102, Pasquerel; 209, Aulon. See P. iii. 93, where Alençon says that he was sent to Yolande, but does not say to what place. She furnished provisions for the army.

John Erault reminded the council of a certain Mary of Avignon, who had come to Charles VI. and had foretold the sufferings of the kingdom. She had had visions touching the desolation of France, and in them had seen armor coming to her, whereat she wept, fearing that she was intended to serve as a soldier. It had been told her, however, that the arms were for a virgin who should come after her, and should save France from its enemies. This virgin Erault believed Joan to be.[1]

How much weight the council gave to the prophecies of Mary of Avignon cannot be determined. Joan's own words and bearing and the shame these had roused in some of the councilors were probably more efficient causes of action. Within a few days of her arrival at Poitiers, the council advised the king to grant her request, and to send her with men and provisions to Orleans. The case of the kingdom was desperate, they said, and no chance should be neglected. That they really put much confidence in Joan is unlikely; that a girl should inspire them with any confidence at all doubtless seemed marvelous to all but Joan herself.[2]

Some weeks must pass before an army could be assembled, but one thing Joan insisted upon doing at once. She had been sent by God to save France, but she was singularly free from any hatred of the English, and so great was her faith in her mission, so complete seemed her triumph over the incredulity of courtiers and churchmen, that she hoped that even the English would heed her, and at her bidding would leave the country. On March 22 she caused the following letter to be written and sent to them: —

Mar. 22, 1429.

JESUS MARIA

King of England, and you, duke of Bedford, who style yourself regent of France, you William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk,

[1] P. iii. 83, Barbin.

[2] See P. iii. 83, Barbin ; 93, Alençon ; 102, Pasquerel ; 205, Seguin.

John, Lord Talbot, and Thomas, Lord Scales, who style yourself lieutenants of the said duke of Bedford, give heed to the King of Heaven, and yield up to the Maid, sent for that purpose by God, the King of Heaven, the keys of all the good cities which you have taken and outraged in France. She is come from God to rescue the blood royal. She is ready to make peace if you will heed her and depart from France and yield up what you hold in it. And do you, archers, soldiers, gentlemen, and others who are before Orleans, go into your own country, at God's command; but if you do not, look to hear news of the Maid, who will shortly go to see you to your great hurt. King of England, if you will not do this, I am the head of the army, and wherever I meet your people in France I will make them flee, whether they will or no, and, if they will not obey, I will kill them all. I am sent from God, the King of Heaven, body for body, to drive you out of all France; but if the soldiers obey, I will have mercy on them. Be not obstinate, therefore, for you shall not hold the kingdom of France from God, the King of Heaven, son of St. Mary; from him shall Charles hold it, the true heir, for God, the King of Heaven, wills it so, and so has it been revealed by the Maid,[1] who will enter Paris with a good company. If you do not heed the word of God and the Maid, in whatever place we find you, we will put you to a greater rout than has been known in France for a hundred years, if you will not believe. And be sure that the King of Heaven will send greater strength to the Maid and to her good soldiers than you can bring with all your might, and by heavy buffets you shall discover who has the best right from the God of Heaven. The Maid begs you and bids you, duke of Bedford, not to bring ruin on yourself. If you will heed her, you may come in her company to a place where the French will do the bravest deed ever done for Christendom. Answer, then, if you will give peace to the city of Orleans, and, if you do not, expect shortly grievous damage. Written this Tuesday in Holy Week.[2]

[1] See p. 59, and the request which Joan made that Charles should surrender the kingdom to God and hold it from Him as his vicegerent.

[2] The copies of this letter differ slightly. That produced at J.'s

Joan was utterly illiterate, of course; it is doubtful if she could sign her name unaided; the letter was written for her by some clerk, and may have been somewhat revised by the council.[1] That the substance of it is hers, however, there can be no doubt; it is full of her characteristic expressions, and of the repetitions used by illiterate people when most in earnest. Even the reference made in the last sentence but one to a crusade against the Saracens may have been her own, for such a crusade was then the final wish of all Christendom.[2] If the phraseology seems unduly boastful and self-confident, such phraseology, also, is characteristic, though her boasting was really in God, and her self-confidence in God's messenger. When she spoke of the peasant girl, Joan of Arc, it was with reticence and modesty. The answer which the English made to her summons will appear in due time.[3]

This letter of Joan makes plain another matter. Lest she should seem to have failed in any part of her mission, it has sometimes been urged that this mission was confined to the relief of Orleans and the consecration of Charles, and that at his coronation her divine mission was concluded. The letter shows, on the contrary, that the real end of her mission, as she always conceived it, was the rescue of France, to compass which end Orleans and Rheims were but the means. Her expeditions thither differed from her other acts only in this, that the former were means divinely appointed, commanded by her voices, while the latter were means humanly chosen to accomplish a divinely appointed end. We shall consider

trial, P. i. 240, which closely agrees with another from a French source, printed P. v. 96, is probably more accurate than those given by the chroniclers, P. iv. 139, 215, 306.

[1] P. i. 55, 84, J.'s test.

[2] See P. v. 126.

[3] See the account of Joan brought about this time by tinkers from Domremy to Rouen. P. iii. 192, Moreau.

later how she regarded her mission after Charles's consecration, but the distinction above mentioned should always be borne clearly in mind.

Although the council had decided to send Joan to Orleans, a full month must pass before men and provisions could be gathered for the expedition. April, 1429. She knew the need of both, and was no longer impatient; a few days were passed in Poitiers, and then she returned with the court to Chinon. Sixty-five years afterwards, there lived in Poitiers a very old man, who still liked to tell how she rode from the city in full armor, and who pointed out the stone from which she had mounted her horse.[1]

While waiting for the troops to gather, Joan went from Chinon to St. Florent near Saumur, the seat of her friend, the duke of Alençon. There his mother and his wife received the young girl; and "God knows," wrote the chronicler of the family, "the cheer they made her during the three or four days she spent in the place." His wife, indeed, Joan of Orleans, had a peculiar interest in the purposes of Joan of Arc, for she was the daughter of Charles, duke of Orleans, then nearly fifteen years a prisoner in England, whose city the English were besieging. The duchess was but a girl herself,[2] and as her husband prepared again to take up arms, she feared for his safety, remembering that for several years of her young married life he, too, had been a prisoner of the English. She told her fears to Joan of Arc, accordingly; how long his captivity had lasted, how hard it had been to raise the money for his ransom, and how she had

[1] Bouchet, *Ann. Aquitaine*, 246. Apparently, Charles left Poitiers March 23 or 24. *Lettres orig. fran. Gaignières*, 896, i. f. 25 ; *MS. Gaignières*, 286, f. 156. For the rest, see Bouchet, *Ann. Aq.*, 246; P. iv. 211, *Chron. Puc.* A tower in Poitiers was named after J. P. v. 195.

[2] Born Sept. 13, 1409 ; m. 1421 ; d. 1432.

begged him to stay at home. The frank confession was made just as Joan and the duke were starting for the army. "Do not be afraid, my lady," said Joan. "I will bring him safe back to you, as well as he now is, or even better."[1]

About the middle of April, Joan left the abbey and went to Tours, the most important city in that part of France.[2] According to the custom of the time, she was here provided with a military household befitting the position she was about to take. Louis of Coutes, the boy who had lived with her in the tower at Chinon, was made her page, together with another boy named Raymond. John of Aulon, a discreet young man, became her squire. John Pasquerel, an Austin friar and an acquaintance of Metz or of Poulengy, was by one of them brought to her and acted as her confessor. He was a gossipy, amiable man, with a good opinion of himself, who became sincerely attached to Joan, but had no influence over her.[3]

[1] P. iii. 96, Alençon ; iv. 10, Cagny. It seems that the young duchess at some time followed her husband as far as Orleans. P. v. 264.

[2] J. stayed at Tours with one La Pau or Dupuy. P. iii. 66, Coutes ; 101, Pasquerel.

[3] See P. iii. 65, Coutes ; 100, Pasquerel ; 209, Aulon. For her armor, see v. 258. The evidence that her cousin was her chaplain is weak. See P. v. 252 ; B. de Molandon, *Fam. de J.*, 125. According to Pasquerel's testimony as reported, he met Joan's mother at Le Puy en Velay, together with some of those who had escorted Joan to Chinon. M. Quicherat (P. iii. 101, note) points out that both Le Puy and Joan's mother are out of the question, and conjectures that for "mater" we should read "frater," and for the Latin name of Le Puy the very similar Latin name of Azay le Rideau. Probably M. Quicherat's emendations are as good as any that can be suggested. M. Luce (*J. à Domremy*, ch. xii.) exhibits great erudition in assigning possible reasons for a visit of Isabel of Arc to Le Puy, — a characteristic example of the madness into which the learning of that eminent scholar often led him.

At this time, also, two of her brothers joined her.[1] During the preceding months, official inquiry had been made at Domremy concerning Joan and her family, and probably the young men were not sorry of a chance to follow their sister to court, where she had suddenly made so great a commotion. The like opportunity of advancement had never before come to boys in Domremy, and thereafter John and Peter accompanied Joan in most of her campaigns. They were commonplace fellows, glad to avail themselves of their sister's reputation, which brought them patents of nobility, lucrative offices and lands, and off which they lived for the rest of their lives. Their conduct was not meaner than that of many other persons in like case; but it is clear that they wholly lacked the spirit of their sister, and that, from the time she left Domremy, neither they nor the rest of her family in any way guided her.[2]

Her armor, her pages, and her squire, even her confessor, Joan received as a matter of course, without any choice on her part; for two things she gave precise directions. At St. Catherine of Fierbois she had heard three masses on her journey to court. The church was a resort for pilgrims, and many votive offerings had been made to the saint;[3] near the altar, perhaps beneath it, was an old chest, holding fetters offered by prisoners, rusty swords, and other bits of iron. Joan's voices bade

[1] It is probable that they joined her at this time, though not certain. They were both with her on the expedition to Orleans (P. iv. 153, *Journ. Siège;* and see v. 213, 260), and would hardly have had time, after Joan had been accepted, to join her before she reached Tours. The arrival of one of them mentioned by Laval (v. 108) was probably after a short absence.

[2] The failure of Joan ever to mention her brothers, considering that they were almost constantly with her, is very significant. She said that her brothers then had her effects (P. i. 78), and that Charles had given them coats-of-arms (i. 117). That is all.

[3] See Bourassé, *Miracles de Madame Ste. Katherine.*

her send to this place and ask for a sword; an armorer of Tours went thither and brought it to her, cleaned by the care of the priests of the church, and cased in a scabbard which they caused to be made.

The biographers of Joan have generally asserted that she knew of the existence of the sword in the church by revelation of her voices. At that time, without doubt, this was the belief of most people, but their belief proves little. The growth of legends concerning Joan was very rapid,[1] and it was commonly reported not only that she had never seen the sword, but that she had never been inside the church, and this, though she had spoken of hearing masses there. While in the church, she probably saw or at least heard of the old chest with its rusty contents, and later received the divine command to take this well-tried weapon of some pious pilgrim for her own.[2]

[1] See particularly the deposition of Pasquerel, P. iii. 100, and the letter of Boulainvilliers, v. 114.

[2] This seems to me the reasonable conclusion, though opposed to that of most critics. For the common belief of the time, see P. iv. 54, 129, 212. The clerk of La Rochelle, *Rel. inéd.*, 22, is not so explicit, and says merely that the sword was found in a chest which, according to common report, had not been opened for twenty years. Bouchet, *Ann. Aquitaine*, 246, tells how the sword happened to be in the church, but follows the legend in asserting that Joan herself had never been there. The material part of Joan's testimony on the subject runs thus: "While she was at Tours or Chinon, she sent to ask for a sword which was in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, behind the altar; and immediately afterwards it was found, all rusty. Being asked how she knew the sword was there, she replied that the sword was rusty in the earth (or with the earth), and had five crosses on it; and she knew it was there by means of her voices, and she never saw the man who went to ask for the sword. She wrote to the clergymen of the place to be pleased to let her have that sword, and they sent it to her. It was not very deep in the earth behind the altar, she thinks; she is not sure, however, whether it was before the altar or behind it; but she thinks that she wrote that the said sword was behind the altar." P. i. 76. "Being asked what was

Much more important than her sword was the banner which at this time she caused to be made. She had no love of arms and, like most women, felt a horror of blood; she therefore wished to use her sword as little as she might.[1] She was the King of Heaven's messenger to save the kingdom of France, and she gladly obeyed her voices when they told her to carry the banner of the King of Heaven. The field of the banner was sown with lilies. In the midst of it God was painted, holding the world and sitting upon the clouds; on either side an angel knelt; the motto was JESUS MARIA. When asked at her trial which she loved better, her sword or her banner, she answered that she loved the banner better by far, yes, forty times as much as the sword. It told, indeed, the story of her mission, as she conceived it: the lilies of France, the country she was sent to save; God, who had sent her; and Jesus, son of Mary, her watchword, which she prefixed to her more solemn letters, the last word she uttered at the instant of death.[2]

the use of the five crosses which were on the sword which she found at St. Catherine of Fierbois, she replied that she knew nothing about it." P. i. 179.

When it is borne in mind that these words represent not Joan's exact language, but the notary's understanding of it, they seem to me to import that the notary shared the legendary belief, but that Joan meant to say no more than that her voices had directed her to send for a sword which she had seen or heard about when she had worshiped in the church a few weeks before. That the sword was an ex-voto is pretty plain, and when we consider how ex-votos are generally kept, the likelihood of Joan's having seen it is not lessened. It must be admitted that the most competent critic of Joan's history, M. Jules Quicherat, holds the other opinion, and believes that she had never seen the sword. *Ap. nouv.*, 69. As M. Quicherat was by no means a traditional Catholic, his opinion was not influenced by religious prepossessions, and is certainly entitled to great weight. See, also, his note to the *Rel. inéd.*, p. 11.

[1] P. iii. 205, Seguin.

[2] See P. i. 78, 117, 181, J.'s test.; v. 154, 271. The accounts of her banner vary considerably; probably she had more than one. See iii. 7; iv. 152.

After staying about ten days at Tours, Joan went up the Loire to Blois, where the troops had their rendezvous, as it was the nearest city to Orleans which remained in Charles's hands. It had been hard to find money to pay soldiers or to buy provisions, but by the efforts of Yolande, the queen's mother, of Alençon and other lords, and of some patriotic cities, like La Rochelle,[1] the money was obtained at last. Not long before Joan's departure, the learned men chosen to investigate her case made their official report. The real decision to employ her had been reached at Poitiers some weeks earlier; but now that she was to be the duly commissioned agent of the king of France, it was thought best that those skilled in such matters should formally certify to Charles their opinion that he might safely use the help she offered him. If she failed, and his orthodoxy was attacked for employing a witch, such certificates would be useful as showing that he had acted in good faith.

The language of the report was very guarded. Considering the need of the realm and the prayers to God of his poor subjects, the king ought neither lightly to reject nor lightly to accept the help of the Maid, but, following Holy Scripture, ought to prove her, both by inquiry into her past life, and also by asking of her a sign, as did Ahaz, Gideon, and other persons in like case. The report then went on to set forth that for six weeks the king had closely examined the Maid, and had found in her no evil, but, on the contrary, many virtues. As to the sign, she had declared that she would show it before Orleans, and nowhere else, this being God's will. Wherefore, all things considered, the king ought not to prevent her from going to Orleans, but should send her there in honorable fashion, hoping in God, inasmuch as to doubt her without cause would be to despise the Holy

[1] Loiseleur, *Compte des dépenses*, 186. On April 13 a considerable sum of money was brought to Orleans. P. iv. 145.

Spirit, and to render himself unworthy of God's help, as said Gamaliel to the Jews concerning the Apostles.[1] Thus formally approved, about nine weeks after leaving Vaucouleurs in the company of two lawless adventurers, Joan entered Blois with the captain of Chinon and the chancellor of France.[2]

[1] P. iii. 391. Written opinions were obtained from other distinguished experts at about this time. See the memoir of the archbishop of Embrun, P. vi. 565; and see P. iii. 411; v. 474.

[2] P. iii. 4, Bastard. From the testimony of Joan, P. i. 71–73, 94, 171, it has been supposed that an elaborate procès-verbal of her examination at Poitiers was prepared; see, also, the note of M. Quicherat, v. 471. This seems at least doubtful; no record was produced at the second trial, though one of Joan's examiners, Seguin, then testified at some length. Joan undoubtedly supposed that written minutes of her examination were made, and this may have been done, but probably these minutes were informal, and soon destroyed. Garivel, iii. 19, says that the examination continued about three weeks, but Joan's letter to the English was written within less than a fortnight of her arrival in Poitiers. The opinion of the doctors, iii. 391, was written six weeks after Joan's arrival at Chinon, and therefore about April 6. In any event, it was issued after Joan left Poitiers.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS.

To understand the operations for the relief of Orleans, it is necessary first to know something of the siege and of the campaign which preceded it.

In the spring of 1428, as has been said already,[1] the English with their Burgundian allies occupied Normandy, Picardy, Artois, Isle de France, Perche, all French Flanders except Tournai, nearly all Champagne, considerable parts of Maine and of the Gâtinais, besides Burgundy and the Nivernais in the east, and the most of Gascony and Guyenne in the southwest. The duke of Brittany, irritated by the plots of Charles's favorites and the disgrace of his brother, the constable Richemont, inclined to the English alliance, though he gave them little active help.[2] Charles ruled over only the central provinces of France, Dauphiny being almost as a foreign possession, while Languedoc sometimes wavered in its allegiance and often was compelled to make its own treaties with the English partisans.[3]

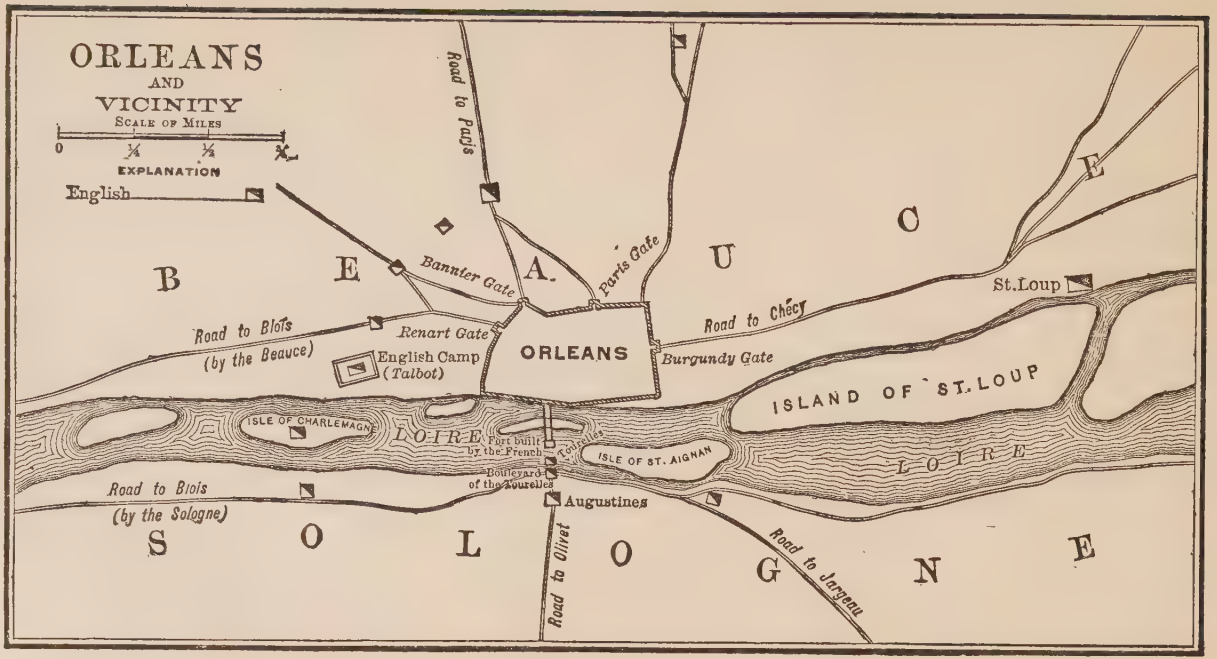
1428.

These central provinces of France are bounded north and east by the Loire. Rising in the mountains of Languedoc, less than a hundred miles from the Mediterranean, this river flows northward for two hundred and fifty miles, though bending more and more to the west, until at Orleans it comes within seventy miles of Paris.

[1] Page 11, supra.

[2] See Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 572 et seq.

[3] See Flourac, *Jean I. Comte de Foix.*


ORLEANS
AND
VICINITY
SCALE OF MILES
0
EXPLANATION
English
Road to Paris
Bannier Gate
Paris Gate
Road to Blois
(by the Beauce)
Renart Gate
English Camp
(Talbot)
ORLEANS
Burgundy Gate
Road to Chécy
St. Loup
ISLAND OF ST. LOUP
ISLE OF CHARLEMAGN
LOIRE
Fort built by the French
Tourelles
ISLE OF ST. AIGNAN
Boulevard of the Tourelles
Road to Blois
(by the Sologne)
Augustines
Road to Olivet
Road to Jargeau
B E A U C E
S O L O G N E

Speaking roughly, the duke of Burgundy owned the territory to the east of the Loire; the provinces to the west of it were loyal. From Orleans the Loire continues its sweep for about sixty miles, here bending in a curve to the south and west until it reaches Tours; from Tours it flows nearly due west to the Bay of Biscay. North of the Loire, Charles still had some possessions, but the towns between Orleans and Paris were always in danger, frequently taken and retaken, while the broad river and the fortresses which covered its passage kept the central provinces reasonably clear of the English. If the regent Bedford would make his nephew really king of all France, the Loire must be crossed.

For thirteen years England had made great sacrifices both in men and money to accomplish the conquest of France. When it is considered that these sacrifices were made by a country neither rich nor populous and comparatively rude, and that they were made to carry on a foreign war, some idea may be gained of the prosperity and strength which an insular position and domestic peace had given to England.[1] The campaign of 1427, directed against the Gâtinais, and especially against Montargis, which lies about forty miles northeast of Orleans, had failed. For the campaign of 1428 greater preparation was made. Large sums of money were subscribed and borrowed; the mayor and citizens of London lent three thousand pounds.[2]

The method of raising an army in the fifteenth century differed much from that practiced to-day. The old feudal levies, serving because it was their duty, like the great

[1] Domestic peace in the fifteenth century is a comparative term. There had been civil war in England during part of the reign of Henry IV., and seditious insurrections under Richard II., but for centuries England had enjoyed domestic peace in a far greater degree than any Continental country.

[2] Stevenson, *Letters, etc., Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, t. i., lix.

standing armies of the present generation, lost their efficiency when the larger part of the community was no longer used to arms. Regular forces of professional soldiers, kept constantly on foot like the armies of the eighteenth century, were as yet almost unknown. The English and French armies were composed mostly, though not altogether, of companies whose captains were under written contract with the sovereign to supply a certain number of men at so much a head. In such contracts, the rights of both parties were carefully guarded. The troop was to be inspected frequently, so that the king should get his money's worth, while payment was to be made for soldiers disabled or killed; no captain was allowed to recruit his troop at the expense of another's, and the division of ransom was regulated exactly.[1] This waging war by contract tended to lengthen operations, since peace deprived the contracting captain and most of his men of their professional livelihood. It was more difficult to maintain discipline among troops furnished under this system of contract than among troops levied directly by the sovereign, and so the foundation of a regular standing army by the organization of the French gendarmerie at the end of the Hundred Years' War soon resulted in the complete overthrow of the English. In 1428, the principal contractor employed by the English and the general of their army was Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury in England, and count of Perche in France. He was in the prime of life, accounted "the most crafty, skillful, and lucky of the princes and captains of the realm of England." He landed at Calais about July 1, and went to Paris, where the plan of the campaign was settled in council. Some favored an attack upon Anjou, and it has been said that the regent Bedford agreed with

[1] See Boucher de Molandon, *L'armée anglaise*, 209, and passim; Jarry, *Le compte de l'armée anglaise;* Loiseleur, *Compte des dépenses faites par Charles VII.;* Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, vol. ii. 44.

them, but it was decided to make Orleans the objective point.[1]

The choice was natural, and seems to have been a wise one. To attack Charles effectively, the line of the Loire must be forced, and Orleans was the point on the Loire nearest Paris, the English base of supplies. The men of Orleans felt themselves aggrieved by the choice, and the reasons for their hope of immunity illustrate the strangely personal character of mediæval warfare. Charles of Orleans, their feudal lord, had been a prisoner in England since Agincourt, and it seemed to some people unchivalrous to attack the possessions of a man who could not defend himself. Again, it was said that Salisbury himself had promised the duke to let his city alone, — a strange promise for a commanding general to make, though some men pretended to name the sum of money paid for it. In fact, Salisbury had negotiated a treaty to this effect with the Bastard of Orleans, the duke's agent in his absence, but the regent Bedford had refused to ratify it, saying with reason that an imprisoned prince could not compel his provinces to observe neutrality, and that his request was not a sufficient reason for suspending military operations.[2]

Though the English council had decided to attack Orleans, Salisbury began his campaign by move- August, 1428.
ments which would open the road to Orleans and Anjou alike. At the beginning of August he marched toward Chartres with four or five thousand soldiers, about half of whom he had brought with him from England,

[1] B. de Molandon, *L'armée anglaise*, 50; Monstrelet, Bk. II. chs. xlix., lii.; Beaurepaire, *Etats de Normandie sous la domination anglaise*, 168. If the English army had been directed against Anjou, it would still have attempted to cross the Loire, but would probably have sought passage a hundred miles below Orleans.

[2] B. de Molandon, 59; Villaret, *Campagnes des Anglais*, 54; P. v. 286.

while the rest had been raised in France or drafted from the English garrisons in Normandy and elsewhere. Most of his men were English, a few were Frenchmen who held to Henry VI.; at one time or another he was joined by some Burgundian allies. Acting with great vigor, he again retook some towns which the French had retaken in their successful campaign of the preceding year. On reaching Chartres about August 15, he disclosed his plan of operations, and Orleans was seen to be his objective point, though he did not march directly against it. Before doing so, he proposed to isolate the city by reducing all the neighboring towns, and he meant to besiege it only after he had secured his own communications, and had thoroughly cut those of the French.[1]

The only serious resistance was that made by Janville, a place about twenty miles north of Orleans, and Janville held out but a week. First the town was occupied, and then the castle was stormed, after the fiercest assault, as Salisbury wrote to the mayor of London, that he had ever seen. Its defenders were treated harshly, though not more so than the laws of war allowed. The warning thus given was heeded. About September 5 Salisbury wrote out a list of forty towns which he had taken in as many days. In some cases the inhabitants swore allegiance to Henry VI.[2]

September, 1428.

Among these towns were several which secured the passage of the Loire, both above and below Orleans. Ten miles down-stream on the north bank of the river was Meung, six miles farther was Beaugency, both with bridges strongly fortified. Ten or twelve miles up-stream on the south bank was Jargeau, with another fortified bridge. All these places the English occupied in force.

[1] Villaret, 62 et seq.; Jarry, 78; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. li.; *Chron. Puc.*, ch. xxxi.

[2] Villaret, 63, and notes, 141; *Chron. Puc.*, ch. xxxi.; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. li.

Above Jargeau was Sully, belonging to La Trémoille, which he hastened to surrender, probably in order to save his property from damage.[1]

Now that the passage of the Loire was secured at Meung, Beaugency, and Jargeau, it may be asked why the English waited to besiege Orleans and did not rather push on at once, into the heart of France. It was possible for them to march by way of Jargeau directly upon Bourges, having a safe line of communication and retreat by way of Auxerre and the Burgundian possessions east of the Loire; but to do this would leave Paris and Normandy open to French attack. It was possible, also, to pass the Loire below Orleans and march on Tours and Poitiers; but this would expose the army to great danger in case of defeat, as experience had shown once, and was to show again, that neither Meung nor Beaugency could defend the passage of the Loire beyond a few hours, or a day or two at the most. Salisbury's best reason for instantly besieging Orleans, however, was his desire to use in attacking a strong and valuable city the impetus he had gained by his rapid success. For the long investment which actually followed, he was in no way responsible.

When the English army took the field, a French army should have taken the field to meet it, but Charles was without that useful device for carrying on a campaign. In September and October, after Salisbury had crossed the Loire, the Estates of France met at Chinon, and voted large sums of money for the war. They also begged the king to practice economy, to maintain justice, and to make peace with the duke of Burgundy and the constable. To these requests the king gave vaguely favorable answers, and lived the same slothful,

[1] *Chron. Puc.*, chs. xxxii.–xxxiv. Between Sully and Blois there were but four bridges crossing the Loire, viz., at Jargeau, Orleans, Meung, and Beaugency.

cowardly, spendthrift life as before, the creature of La Trémoille.[1]

On all sides of Orleans the country is very flat. In the Sologne, as the district south of the Loire is called, dikes are needed to protect the fields against the river in flood. In the Beauce, the district north of the Loire, where Orleans itself is built, the ground is but a few feet higher. The river is from three hundred to seven hundred yards wide, neither rapid nor slow, flowing among shifting sand-bars and low islands of changing shape. In 1428, the city was built close to the northern bank in a slightly irregular rectangle, about nine hundred yards along the river by six hundred yards in the other direction. It was protected by a wall from twenty to thirty feet high, having a parapet and machicolations, with twenty-four towers. Outside the wall, except where it faced the river, was a ditch forty feet wide and twenty feet deep.

The bridge which crossed the Loire was about three hundred and fifty yards long, including that part of it which rested on an island in mid-stream. On its southernmost pier was built a small fortress called the Tourelles, connected with the shore of the Sologne by a drawbridge, which, in its turn, was covered by a strong earthwork or boulevard.[2]

Though the walls of Orleans inclosed little more than a hundred acres of land, and though part of this small space was occupied by a large cathedral and several parish churches, yet twenty thousand people had their home in the closely packed houses that lined the narrow and

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 170; Thomas, *Etats généraux sous Charles VII.*, 28; Ib., "Le midi et les E. G. sous Charles VII." (*Annales du midi*, January, 1892), 4; Loiseleur, *Compte des dépenses*, 63.

[2] See Jollois, *Hist. du siège d'Orléans*, in 4to, containing maps and plans.

crooked streets.[1] The expense of building and maintaining a wall was so great, the duty of watching it by day and night was so burdensome, that, during the Middle Ages, the cost of land inclosed in a walled town was very considerable. Modern cities are enormously more populous than any which existed five hundred years ago; but it is likely that the overcrowding of the poor, now much talked about, was greater then than it is to-day. Just outside the walls were several populous faubourgs or suburbs.

On October 5, Jargeau surrendered to the English. A week afterwards, Salisbury appeared before the Tourelles, having a considerable body of men and a well-appointed siege train. The garrison of Orleans was commanded by Gaucourt, an elderly and experienced soldier, but without marked ability. Under him served several of Charles's hard-fighting, freebooting captains, and a small body of professional troops; beside these the citizens fought with desperate courage.[2] October, 1428.

With his odd-looking copper cannon, some of which threw stone balls of a hundred and fifty pounds' weight a distance of seven hundred yards, Salisbury battered at short range the Tourelles and its protecting boulevard, while he dropped some shot into the city itself. The garrison, also, was well supplied with artillery, and it returned Salisbury's fire, but without much effect, as there was nothing in particular to aim at. At the end of about a week of bombardment, varied by sortie, the English made a furious assault upon the boulevard. This lasted four hours, and in it, says the chronicler of the siege, "were done many fair deeds of arms on the one

[1] See Vergnaud-Romanési, *Des diverses enceintes*, etc., 8; Villiaumé, *Jeanne d'Arc*, 29.

[2] P. iv. 94 et seq., *Journ. Siège;* Jollois, *Hist. Siège*, 13 et seq.; Parenteau, *Un canon de bronze du siège d'Orléans.*

side and the other." Even the women of Orleans brought across the bridge to the soldiers boiling oil, lime, and hot ashes, whatever would check the besiegers. For the time the English were repulsed, but the boulevard was mined, and the French position untenable; the boulevard was first abandoned, and then the Tourelles itself, having been battered to a ruin. Before withdrawing, however, the French broke down a span of the bridge between the Tourelles and the town, and built a barricade at their side of the opening.[1]

On the afternoon of the same day, Salisbury went up into the Tourelles with some of his officers to look at the city across the river. As he stood by an embrasure, he was struck in the head by a cannon ball, and was wounded so severely that in three days he died. No one knew who fired the lucky shot, and so among the French his death "was esteemed by many persons to be the work of God. For he spared neither monasteries nor churches if once he could get into them, which naturally leads us to believe that his days were shortened by God's just vengeance."[2]

The death of Salisbury seems to have paralyzed the English. No one was commissioned to command in his place, and, after doing nothing for a fortnight, on November 8 the main force of the English divided and withdrew to Meung and Jargeau. Five hundred men, under William Glasdale, were left in the Tourelles, after the fort had been repaired and its boulevard had been rebuilt stronger than ever.

Meantime, the garrison had been strongly reinforced, and Gaucourt, who had been injured by a fall, was super-

[1] P. iv. 98, 99, *Journ. Siège.*

[2] P. iv. 100, 102, *Journ. Siège;* v. 287, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.* His death was said to have been foretold by an astrologer. *Chron. de Jean Raoulet,* in J. Chartier, ed. Vallet de V. iii. 197.

seded in his command by John, Bastard of Orleans, afterwards created count of Dunois. He was the natural half-brother of the duke of Orleans, a brave and skillful soldier of five-and-twenty, and accounted "the finest speaker in France."[1] Nov.–Dec. 1428.

His forces were greatly superior to those of Glasdale, but he did not attempt to retake the Tourelles; perhaps because he knew that the main body of the English was distant only four or five hours' march. During more than three weeks, he and Glasdale idly faced each other, while the men of Orleans, left unmolested for the time on the north bank of the Loire, destroyed the city's suburbs, "the finest in the kingdom," razing fifteen churches, several monasteries, hundreds of dwelling-houses, everything that could shelter an Englishman approaching the walls. Fifteen thousand people, thus made homeless, crowded into Orleans, nearly doubling its population and threatening all with famine and disease.

In the latter part of November, the question of the command of the English forces was settled by dividing it among three generals,— William Pole, earl of Suffolk; Thomas, Lord Scales; and John, Lord Talbot, "the great Alcides of the field." All these were men of note, but after Salisbury's death the English operations lacked vigor. About December 1, Talbot came to the Tourelles with a small reinforcement, and for nearly a month he and the Bastard kept up an artillery duel across the river, with very little damage to either combatant. One day an English shot fell into the middle of a table at which five people were dining, yet no one was hurt, — "a miracle supposed to be wrought by our Lord, at the prayer of

[1] For the Bastard, see Basin, *Hist. Charles VII.*, i. 53; Vergnaud-Romanési, *Doc. inéd. relatif au Bâtard d'Orléans.* He continued to sign himself "Bastard d'Orléans" long after being created count of Dunois. See Jarry, *Testaments, etc., de Jean Bâtard d'Orléans*, 10.

my Lord St. Aignan, patron of Orleans." On Christmas Day there was a truce from nine in the morning until three in the afternoon, "during which time Glasdale and other English lords begged the Bastard and the Lord of St. Sevère, marshal of France, to cause their minstrels, trumpets, and clarions to play. Which was done accordingly, and the instruments played a long time, making fine music." Military operations in the Middle Ages were sometimes carried on in a leisurely manner.[1]

January–February, 1429.

Between Christmas and the New Year the main body of the English army arrived, advancing through the Beauce directly against the city. The Bastard sallied out to meet it, but was beaten back, and the English headquarters were established in a bastille or fortified camp, west of Orleans. It was about a gunshot from the walls, and was connected by a bridge with a camp on the south bank of the river, below the Tourelles. From time to time the English built other forts west of the city and at about the same distance from its walls; but for several months they did not try to invest Orleans completely, nor did they make any vigorous attempt to carry the city by storm or to open a breach in the walls by bombardment or by mining. Not infrequently considerable supplies were smuggled into the city, but the English forces, almost always successful in the field, made the provisioning of Orleans an occupation very risky and uncertain.

January.

During all this time Charles VII. lived quietly at Chinon, and there received deputations from the citizens of Orleans urging him to succor their city. Probably he always hoped that a French relieving army would turn up, but for some months he did little or nothing more than hope. A government which waits to ask for supplies until its enemies have been six weeks in the

[1] P. iv. 104, 105, *Journ. Siège.*

field is not likely to be very prompt in relieving besieged places.[1]

Through the early winter the siege dragged on, with cannonading and frequent sorties, with cutting off French supply trains and dare-devil exploits in bringing them in. The peaceful citizens were in constant terror. Sometimes the English disguised themselves as women, and crept close to the walls, capturing the poor vine-dressers as they ventured forth.[2] At dead of night the bells rang out or the cry of treason was raised, startling every one from sleep: it might be a false alarm, or the English might be already at the gates. There were distractions, of course. Two knights, chosen from the two parties, would break a lance in regular tournament; or the English and French pages would be turned loose in one of the sandy islands of the river, to fight it out with fists and stones, while grown-up people looked on. The humor of the siege was supplied in large part by one John of Lorraine, who used with much skill a culverin, the unwieldy prototype of the musket. Posted on the bridge, he did great execution, varying his work with pleasant jests at the English expense. "In order to mock them, sometimes he let himself fall to the ground, feigning to be dead or wounded, and thus was carried into the city. But incontinently he returned to the fight, and so bore himself that the English knew him for a live man to their great harm and discomfiture."[3]

Early in February a French army of relief was gathered, and its command was given to Charles of Bourbon, count of Clermont, a prince of the blood royal, and a headstrong young man.[4] Instead of making a direct attack upon the English camp, he decided first to intercept a large convoy of provisions and

February, 1429.

[1] See P. iv. 103, note 3.
[2] P. iv. 136, *Journ. Siège.*
[3] P. iv. 105, *Journ. Siège;* and see *Journ. Siège,* passim.
[4] See Beaucourt, ii. 147.

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ammunition which was approaching Orleans from Paris, under charge of the famous Sir John Fastolf.[1] Fifteen hundred soldiers of the garrison sallied out one Friday to meet Clermont, who had given them rendezvous at Rouvray, twenty-five miles north of Orleans. Their march was made without interference from the besiegers.

The rest of Friday, and all Saturday, the men of Orleans waited for news. It came about midnight, when a disordered and terrified rabble poured into the city. All had gone wrong. The soldiers from Orleans came first to the rendezvous, and found themselves face to face with Fastolf. The count of Clermont had not come up, and yet had forbidden an attack upon the English in his absence. Fastolf, a prudent and experienced soldier, saw at once that he was outnumbered, drew his men together, and covered their front with his heavy wagons. Still Clermont did not appear, and at last the impatient soldiers of the garrison would wait no longer. They could not break through the wagons, but were thrown into disorder and then cut to pieces by the English. Clermont came up just in time to see the disaster, but, though his force alone outnumbered Fastolf's, he fled in confusion to Orleans. Several wagons, laden with salt herrings, made part of Fastolf's convoy, and so the fight was known as the battle of the Herrings.[2] This was the battle which Baudricourt believed that Joan had announced to him on the very day it was fought.

The citizens were now disheartened. The Bastard was wounded. Clermont's frightened soldiers could not be induced again to face the English, and, as they did

[1] This is, of course, the Sir John Fastolf of Shakespeare's *Henry VI.* and not the Sir John Falstaff of *Henry IV.*, though the names are really the same. When Shakespeare changed the name of Oldcastle to Falstaff in *Henry IV.* he probably borrowed the name of the unpopular Fastolf for the purpose. For Fastolf, see the Paston Letters.

[2] P. iv. 119 et seq., *Journ. Siège.*

nothing but eat up the scanty store of provisions, the citizens begged that they might be withdrawn. With them went many captains, and even the bishop of the city, so that the wounded Bastard was left almost alone. Hope from Charles there was none, and the men of Orleans had recourse to a strange expedient. An embassy was sent to Philip of Burgundy, begging him to have mercy on his old enemy Duke Charles, and to take the city under his protection. Weeks must pass before the return of the embassy, and slowly the English closed their blockade. Now and then food and supplies were still introduced, sent, perhaps, by some friendly city, Tours or Albi or La Rochelle. Occasionally a messenger was dispatched to the king, quite uselessly, of course. His council spent much time in considering whether Dauphiny or Spain would afford him the safer retreat after the fall of the city.[1] "All the citizens and dwellers in Orleans," said a rich burgher, "were come into such straits by reason of the besiegers that they knew not to whom to turn for help, save God alone."[2]

At about this time the story of Joan's journey was brought to Orleans, probably from Gien, where first she had been able to speak freely of her mission. Quite naturally the story was laughed at, but the condition of the city was too serious for much laughter, and the desperate people were ready for a miracle, since nothing else would help them. The Bastard sent two of his officers to Chinon; they soon returned to Orleans, the citizens were called together, and the messengers told their tale.[3] The people began to take courage at the wonderful story; even if the Maid brought them no miraculous help, at least she would be accompanied by a good body of soldiers.

For nearly two months longer they had to wait, while

[1] P. iv. 127, 309; Basin, *Hist. Charles VII.*, i. 4.

[2] P. iii. 24, Luillier.

[3] P. iii. 3, Bastard.

their condition grew worse. Moved, perhaps, by Joan's letter and a report of the proposed expedition, the English built new bastilles, to be connected by earthworks which should completely inclose the city. Before these were finished, however, the embassy returned from Burgundy. For years the duke had been guided alternately by his desire to avenge his father's murder upon Charles VII. and his fear lest the English should grow too strong. At this moment the latter motive prevailed, and he asked the duke of Bedford to raise the siege. This Bedford refused to do, probably for the reason given by one of his councilors, that it was not worth while to do the chewing for Burgundy to swallow. Philip thereupon ordered his subjects to withdraw quietly from the besieging army, and their defection weakened the English so much that the blockade could not be completed.[1] It was still possible, though at great risk, occasionally to bring into Orleans reinforcements and provisions.

March–April, 1429.

About April 25 Joan arrived at Blois, where had been gathered a considerable force of soldiers and several of the most noted French captains. There were Gaucourt, the old commander of Orleans; Rais[2] and Boussac, the two marshals of France; Culant, the admiral; and La Hire, the cruel and witty Gascon freebooter already mentioned. "If God were to turn man-at-arms, He would be a cut-throat," was one of the sayings which fairly expressed his notion of warfare. With all their experience these generals seem to have been quite undecided what to do. Their forces, joined to those of the garrison, were at least as numerous as those of the English,[3] but after the recent experience of

[1] See P. iv. 146, *Journ. Siège;* Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lviii.

[2] This was the famous Gilles de Rais, by some supposed to be the original Bluebeard.

[3] See B. de Molandon, *L'armée anglaise*, 134 et seq.; Jarry,

Rouvray they hesitated to face their enemies in the field. The main body of the English was encamped about Orleans on the north side of the river, while comparatively small detachments occupied the Tourelles and other posts in the Sologne. The French captains, therefore, decided to march to Orleans by the south bank of the Loire. How they were to cross the river when they came opposite the city they seem not to have considered, but to have left to the inspiration of the moment. The result of the expedition made their plan appear singularly foolish, and they were not inclined to revive its memory; judged by their actions, however, this was what they intended to do.[1]

Compte de l'armée anglaise, 62; Loiseleur, *Compte des dépenses*, 136 et seq.

[1] At the time of their departure from Blois, did the captains intend and expect to enter Orleans? The Bastard (P. iii. 5, 6) says that when they arrived before Orleans they considered their army insufficient to force an entrance into the city, and he implies that this was the reason of the return to Blois. His meaning is not altogether clear, however, and it may be that he meant only to say that the captains considered their force insufficient to make an immediate attack on the English forces as Joan desired. (See P. iii. 78, Beaucroix.) The *Journal du Siège* (P. iv. 152) says that the captains all came to the conclusion that Joan should not enter Orleans until nightfall, and that Rais and Loré, who, "by the king's commandment, had escorted her thus far, should return to Blois, where were stationed some French lords and soldiers." This passage implies, it seems to me, that the captains had not intended to enter Orleans and with it agree Cagny (P. iv. 5); *Chron. Puc.* (Ib., 217, 218, 221); Monstrelet (Ib., 363); Windecken (Ib., 491); Aulon (P. iii. 210, 211), though it must be admitted that none of their statements are quite free from ambiguity. Among modern historians, Jollois (*Hist. Siège*, 75) and apparently B. de Molandon (*Première Expéd.*, 38) suppose that the captains always intended to return to Blois; Quicherat (*Hist. Siège*, 32), perhaps, takes the contrary view. That Joan expected the army to enter, there cannot be the least doubt; but, deceived as she was by everybody, this proves little.

On the whole, it is probable that the captains had no definite intention of entering Orleans. It is certain that in fact they did not enter

Joan's theory of the art of war was simple; she believed it to consist in attacking at once the principal body of the enemy. As the French intended to use her trust in the divine favor to stir up the enthusiasm of their soldiers, they did not tell her their plans, but, with the falsehood that usually accompanies vacillating weakness, they made her believe that Orleans was on the south bank of the Loire, and so that the relieving army was marching directly to the city and against the English.[1] There was no reason why Joan should doubt them, and she did not. In one matter, however, she would have her own way; she was waging a holy war, and the men who fought with her should be holy. The soldiers must go to confession; and they did so, it is to be hoped to their spiritual advantage. She was not to be satisfied with a bare ceremonial compliance; profane swearing was conspicuous among the lesser vices of La Hire, and she told him that he must give it up. This the fierce ruffian actually did, for men found it hard to refuse Joan, but it seems that he humorously begged her to leave him something to swear by. Joan's sense of humor was by no means wanting, and she allowed him to make use of his "martin," or baton, for the purpose, perhaps because the name was like that of St. Martin, whom the Gascon probably used to swear by in his milder moods.[2]

it. Nothing happened during the expedition which they could not easily have foreseen, and to suppose that they intended to ferry their men across the Loire, and then fight their way into the city, is to attribute to them an energy of which they never had given the least sign. Joan's influence was only beginning to be felt.

[1] Boucher de Molandon (*Prem. Ex.*, 45) supposes that the deception practiced upon Joan consisted in telling her, not that Orleans was situated on the south bank of the Loire, but that the main body of the English was encamped there, and could be attacked most directly by a march through the Sologne. The common opinion agrees best with the testimony.

[2] P. iii. 206, Seguin ; see iii. 32, Compaing ; iv. 217, *Chron. Puc.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RELIEF OF ORLEANS.

On the morning of Thursday, April 28,[1] the army started on its march, three thousand strong, or thereabouts, with a long train of wagons and a considerable drove of cattle. All the priests of Blois went in procession before the troops over the bridge across the Loire, chanting the "Veni Creator" and other anthems.[2] Blois is distant from Orleans about thirty miles, and the army passed one night in the fields; for the first time poor Joan had to sleep in armor, and was considerably bruised and chafed.[3] The march must have been known to the English posts at Meung and Beaugency, but it was quite unhindered, and about Friday noon Joan came upon the heights of Olivet, two miles south of Orleans, from which the city and the position of the besieging army could be plainly seen. She saw how she had been deceived. April 28, 1429. April 29, 1429.

As the English made no motion except to abandon one or two outposts on the south bank of the Loire, the French army with its train descended from Olivet and advanced to the river, halting a little above the city and about a mile from the nearest corner of its walls.[4] The current was strong, the wind blew stiffly downstream, and it was impossible to bring up the heavy

[1] Joan arrived at Orleans on Friday, the 29th. Pasquerel (iii. 105) says that she spent two nights on the march, but this is improbable. See P. iv. 54, J. Chartier.

[2] P. iii. 105, Pasquerel.

[3] P. iii. 67, Coutes.

[4] See B. de Molandon, *Prem. Ex.*, 106.

barges needed to transport men and provisions. Opposite the army, across the river, was the English bastille of St. Loup. The absurdity of the French position was evident.

The march of the expedition had been known in Orleans, and the watchmen stationed in the lofty church towers could mark its every movement after the troops left Olivet. The Bastard took boat and was rowed up-stream and across the river to the place which the expedition had reached. As he landed he met Joan, who was very angry at the trick which had been played her.

"Are you the Bastard of Orleans?" she asked. (It is the Bastard himself who tells the story.)

"I am," said he, "and I am glad that you have come."

"Was it you who advised that I should come hither on this side of the river, and not march directly against Talbot and the English?"

"Both I and others wiser than I gave that advice, believing it to be the best and safest," answered the Bastard, trying to pacify her.

"In God's name, the advice of our Lord God is safer and wiser than yours. You thought to deceive me, and you rather deceived yourselves, forasmuch as I bring you better help than ever came to any captain or city, the help of the King of Heaven. It is not given for love of me, but comes from God himself, who at the prayer of St. Louis and St. Charlemagne has had pity on the city of Orleans, and will not suffer that enemies shall have the body of the duke of Orleans and his city."

"Immediately," continues the Bastard, "and in a moment, as it were, the wind, which had been contrary, and had greatly hindered the boats from ascending the river, changed and became favorable."[1]

Taking advantage of the seeming miracle, the heavy

[1] P. iii. 5, Bastard ; and see v. 290, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.*

barges left Orleans, and were brought five miles farther up the river to a place where the supplies were embarked without danger of attack, the army having marched along the river-bank to the same place. During all these operations the English kept quiet, perhaps because they saw that the relieving force could not possibly enter Orleans, and trusted to the discouragement which would be caused by its retreat. As the loaded barges went down-stream to the city, the garrison made a sortie against the English bastille of St. Loup, to prevent its defenders from firing upon the flotilla, and thus secured the safe arrival of the supplies.[1]

By this time it was four or five o'clock, and the French prepared to go back to Blois. Something may have been said of a return to Orleans by way of the Beauce, but if the army should once regain Blois, such a return would be a thing desirable rather than likely. Though the Bastard seems to have approved the march through the Sologne, yet he wished to get out of the expedition something more than a fresh supply of provisions. He had been moved by Joan's words and bearing; he had seen her work a miracle, as he believed; and he begged her to enter Orleans with him, even if she came alone. Joan was much perplexed. She had come to Orleans to fight the English, and yet she was unwilling to lose the hold on her soldiers which she had gained since joining them; they were good men, she said, penitent and confessed. Not until the marshals had solemnly assured her that they would recross the river at Blois, and would return at once through the Beauce to Orleans; not until she had sent with them her confessor and her banner, did she enter the Bastard's boat, and with him cross the river to

[1] P. iv. 152, *Journ. Siège.* Contrary to the opinion of Jollois, *Hist. Siège*, 74, it seems clear that the provisions were brought into Orleans by water. See P. iii. 78, Beaucroix ; B. de Molandon, *Prem. Ex.*, 53 et seq.

Chécy, a village about six miles above Orleans. With her, also, went the faithful La Hire.[1]

Joan stayed at Chécy[2] until dusk, so as to elude the English. At about eight o'clock she rode into the city; and the story of her entry, written by a citizen, shows to what excitement of hope the people had already been wrought. She was "in full armor, mounted on a white horse, with her pennon carried before her, which was white, also, and bore two angels, each holding a lily in his hand; on the pennon was painted an Annunciation. At her left side rode the Bastard of Orleans in armor, richly appointed, and behind her came many other noble and valiant lords and squires, captains and soldiers, with the burghers of Orleans who had gone out to escort her. At the gate there came to meet her the rest of the soldiers, with the men and women of Orleans, carrying many torches, and rejoicing as if they had seen God descend among them; not without cause. For they had endured much weariness and labor and pain, and, what is worse, great fear lest they should never be succored, but should lose both life and goods. Now all felt greatly comforted and, as it were, already unbesieged, through the divine virtue of which they had heard in this simple maid; whom they regarded right lovingly, both men and women, and likewise the little children. There was a marvelous press to touch her, and to touch even the horse on which she rode, while a torch-bearer came so near her pennon that it was set afire. Thereupon she struck her horse with her spurs and put out the fire, turning the horse gently toward the pennon, just as if she had long been a

[1] P. iii. 6, Bastard; Ib., 78, Beaucroix; 210, Aulon; iv. 152, *Journ. Siège.*

[2] The *Journ. Siège*, P. iv. 151, says that Joan passed a night at Chécy, but plainly by a slip of the pen, the author having intended to write another name, or his copyist having been careless. The night referred to is that of the 28th, and Cléry is a reasonable emendation of the text.

warrior, which the soldiers thought a very wonderful thing, and the burghers also. These accompanied her the whole length of the city with right good cheer, and with great honor they all escorted her to the house of James Boucher, treasurer of the duke of Orleans, where she was received with great joy."[1]

During her stay in Orleans Joan lived at the treasurer's house. Her visit made such a lasting impression on the household that when Boucher died, thirteen years afterwards, full of honors, his wife and children put upon his monument an inscription which recorded only his name and rank, and the fact that he had received "the Maid, by God's help the saviour of the city, into his house as a revered guest."[2] April 30–May 3, 1429.

The press to see Joan was so great that Boucher's door was almost broken in, and she could hardly move through the crowded streets when she went abroad.[3] On Tuesday, May 3, she went in solemn procession to pray for the deliverance of the city;[4] she often visited the churches, and every day she heard mass. At the cathedral she was met by a priest, Doctor John of Mascon, "a very wise man." "My child, are you come to raise the siege?" he asked.

"In God's name, yes."

"My child, they are strong and well intrenched, and it will be a great feat to drive them out," said the wise man despondently.

"There is nothing impossible to the power of God," Joan answered. "And throughout the city," the chronicler adds, "she gave honor to none else." It is recorded that the doctor made no doubt she was sent by God.[5]

[1] P. iv. 152, *Journ. Siège.*

[2] B. de Molandon, *Jacques Boucher,* in *Mém. soc. arch. hist. de l'Orleanais,* t. xxii. 373.

[3] P. iv. 155, *Journ. Siège.*

[4] P. v. 259.

[5] P. v. 291, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête;* see iii. 27, Commy.

It was Friday night when Joan entered Orleans, and on Saturday there was an unimportant skirmish in which she took no part. That evening she sent to the English, demanding that the herald who had carried to them her summons from Blois should be returned to her. To this demand the Bastard added threats of retaliation. The herald was released, and by him the English generals warned Joan that if they caught her they would burn her for a witch or a strumpet. Her intense belief in her divine mission made it impossible for her to think that others would willfully disregard it, and so she went out to the barricade on the bridge and called across the narrow opening to Glasdale and the garrison of the Tourelles, promising them their lives if they would obey God and surrender at once. Quite naturally, the English answered with every manner of foul taunt and jest; doubtless they believed what they were saying. The next day Joan made a like attempt at another part of the fortifications with a like result; she also spent much time in reconnoitring the English position.[1]

When the army reached Blois on its return from Orleans, some of its leaders, in spite of their promise, proposed to disband it. Either hearing this, or suspecting it from his knowledge of the men concerned, on May 1 the Bastard also went to Blois and told the marshals and the rest that if they did not march to the relief of Orleans the city would certainly be lost. This argument or threat settled the matter. On the morning of Tuesday, May 3, the expedition set out again, this time by way of the Beauce, and, passing unhindered the English garrisons of Beaugency and Meung, it came before Orleans on Wednesday morning. Its approach was known, and Joan rode out to meet it at the

May 4, 1429.

[1] See P. iv. 154 et seq., *Journ. Siège;* Ib., 220, *Chron Puc.*, iii. 26, Esbahy.

head of a considerable force of the garrison, intending to cover the passage of the expedition past the English forts. Strange to say, Talbot gave no sign of life. He also expected reinforcements, and it may be that he preferred to await them in the supposed security of his intrenchments, rather than try the chances of a pitched battle. Judged by the results, his strategy was unwise, as it undoubtedly encouraged the French soldiers.[1]

About five thousand regular troops were now gathered in Orleans, beside several thousand armed citizens. The besieging force, it is probable, hardly equaled that of the French regulars, but so great was the English prestige that the city was still in great peril.[2] Moreover, the French resources were exhausted, and every man available was concentrated in Orleans; while the regent Bedford was gathering at Paris a considerable force which he proposed to send to Talbot under the command of Fastolf, the hero of the battle of the Herrings.

The French generals had no settled plan of operations, apparently, and, even after their experience of the week just passed, they took no pains to inform Joan of such plans as they had. After she had watched the entrance of the troops from Blois, she went back to Boucher's house. There she dined, had a short interview with the Bastard, and then lay down to get a little rest after the fatigue of the morning. Her squire, himself tired out, was dozing, when he was waked by a sudden noise. The streets were full of people crying out that the English were slaughtering the French. Joan was awake already, calling for her horse and arms. The squire armed her as quickly as possible with the help of Madame Boucher

[1] P. iv. 155, 156, *Journ. Siège;* v. 291, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.*

[2] See B. de Molandon, *L'armée anglaise,* 141; Loiseleur, *Compte des dépenses,* 139.

and her little daughter. Before he knew what she was doing, she had rushed into the street, had seized the banner which her page handed her through the window, had mounted the first horse she found, and, riding toward the loudest noise, had galloped the length of the city to the Burgundy gate, on the east side of Orleans. She had thought that Fastolf was at hand with his reinforcements, but she found that the French were trying to storm the fort of St. Loup, already mentioned, situated on the north bank of the Loire, about a mile and a half above the town.[1]

The assault had not been successful, and the English, issuing from one of their other forts, were marching to their comrades' relief. At the arrival of Joan, however, the French returned to the attack with a shout, and shortly carried the place, capturing a large supply of provisions, as well as many prisoners. Seeing that their help would come too late, the advancing English withdrew, while the French, after demolishing St. Loup, reëntered Orleans, well pleased with the day's work. Crowds flocked to the churches to thank God, and the church bells were rung joyfully, so that "the English might hear; who by this affair were greatly weakened in force, and in courage as well." The fall of St. Loup cleared the approaches on the east side of the town.[2]

St. Loup was taken on Wednesday, May 4. Thursday was the feast of the Ascension, a holy day on which it was not usual to fight. After some debate in the council of war, it was agreed to cross the river on Friday, and to attack the Tourelles and the other English works in the neighborhood. If these were taken, and the south bank of the Loire thus cleared of the English, provisions and munitions could be brought freely into Orleans by way of the Sologne, and the remaining English forts

[1] P. iii. 68, Contes ; 212, Aulon.

[2] P. iv. 224, *Chron. Puc.*

north and west of the city in the Beauce would not threaten Orleans more than they were threatened by it.[1]

[1] The accounts given by the various authorities of the different military operations proposed, and of the councils of war held to consider them, do not agree in all respects. The *Chron. Puc.* (P. iv. 224) asserts that Joan wished to attack the English on Thursday, even though it was a holiday. The *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête* (v. 292) asserts precisely the contrary, and with it agrees the rather inaccurate eye-witness Pasquerel (iii. 107).

Jean Chartier (P. iv. 57) gives an elaborate account of a council of war held on Thursday. His story has many improbabilities. According to it, the council was held in Boucher's house, yet Joan was not admitted — a most unlikely thing to have happened, as there were many other houses in Orleans where the captains could have met without fear of interruption from Joan. The council is said to have decided to make a feint against the English positions in the Beauce, in order to draw to that side of the river the English detachments in the Sologne, and so to weaken the forces in the Tourelles and the Augustines, against which the real French attack was to be directed. It is to be observed, however, that the main body of the English was already in the Beauce, and that an attack upon it would not be likely to lead to any considerable weakening of the English detachments in the Sologne, at no time very strong. Moreover, the English could have crossed to the Sologne rather more quickly than could the French. After the council had reached its conclusion, Chartier tells us, Joan was admitted and was informed only of the proposed feint, as if it were to be the serious attack, this lie being told her from the quite unnecessary fear lest she should betray the council's real plan to the English. On hearing the news, Joan became at once vexed, according to Chartier, though it is hard to know why, since an attack upon the main body of the English was what she always desired. As soon as her vexation was manifest, the whole plan was revealed to her, and she assented to it at once. "However," as Chartier says quite correctly, "of this plan no part was ever carried out."

The witness Simon Charles, on the other hand (iii. 116), says that the captains decided to make no attack on Friday, but that Joan forced open the city's gate, in spite of the opposition of Gaucourt, who was in command at that point. The three authorities first named, however, are only chroniclers, while Charles speaks expressly from hearsay. I think there is some truth in all the stories, but that the narrators have confused both dates and facts.

Some kind of a council of war must have been held on Thursday,

On Friday morning, accordingly, both troops and citi-
May 6, 1429. zens passed through the Burgundy gate and were ferried to an island in the river lying near its southern bank. From this place they crossed to the Sologne over an improvised bridge of boats. One small post[1] had been abandoned by the English, but the Tourelles confronted them, protected by its boulevard and the fortified convent of the Augustines. The English advanced in force, and the over-hasty French fell back toward the island, their rear covered by Gaucourt, the old governor of the city. Joan now came up with La

and there seems no reason to doubt the statement of the *Journ. Siège* (iv. 158), that Joan was present at it, together with some of the burghers of Orleans. A plan of operations was agreed upon and was carried out until the English took the offensive, after the capture by the French of the bastille of St. John the White. According to Aulon, a military eye-witness, the French then determined to retreat without doing anything further. See iii. 214. Gaucourt seems to have been in command of the troops, and his controversy with Joan probably took place at that time. On Friday evening, after the capture of the Augustines, the French captains seem to have been inclined to rest content with what they had accomplished, and at this time another council of war was held, to which Joan probably was not invited. According to Pasquerel, an eye-witness, though not a very accurate one, its conclusions were announced to her on Friday evening after supper, by a valiant and notable soldier, whose name Pasquerel could not remember. See iii. 108. Joan thereupon declared that she would not consent to postpone offensive operations, and she seems to have gained a somewhat reluctant consent from the captains to renew the fight on Saturday. Apparently there were difficulties and misunderstandings even on Saturday morning. Coutes, Joan's page, says that the keepers of the Burgundy gate hesitated to let her pass through it to the river. iii. 70. If the controversy with Gaucourt, described by Simon Charles, really took place at one of the city's gates, it must have been on Saturday morning, and not on Friday.

For further evidence of disagreement between Joan and the captains, see iii. 32, Farciaulx; 79, Beaucroix; 215, Aulon; iv. 7, Cagny; 227, *Chron. Puc.;* v. 293, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.*

[1] St. John the White.

Hire. Gaucourt forbade them to advance, but they would not be checked, and together they charged upon the English, lance in hand. All were ashamed to remain behind; the English gave way, and the tide of battle flowed back to the walls of the Augustines. Here the English stood their ground and fought bravely, but the enthusiasm of attack was with the French. Knights who had been enemies vied with each other in feats of valor. A tall Englishman who stoutly defended the gate was at last shot down by the facetious gunner, John of Lorraine, and the French rushed in unchecked, while the English retreated to the boulevard of the Tourelles, an earthwork connected by a drawbridge with the pier upon which the Tourelles itself was built. For fear that the French should fall into disorder while plundering the English quarters, Joan caused the buildings of the Augustines to be set on fire.[1]

That very afternoon an attack was made upon the boulevard, but it failed. The men of Orleans saw plainly that the real struggle would come on the next day, and all through the night they labored to bring bread and wine to the soldiers who slept on the field.[2] Together with most of the captains, Joan returned to Orleans.[3] The citizens had now come to trust her implicitly, and they were afraid lest the captains should rest content with what had been done already. Their fears were well founded. Soon after supper one of the French leaders came to the treasurer's house to tell Joan that a council of war had been held, in which the captains had decided that their forces were much inferior to the English, and

[1] P. iv. 227, *Chron. Puc.;* 365, Monstrelet.

[2] Vergnaud-Romanési, *Mémoire sur les dépenses faites par les Orléanais,* 10.

[3] In spite of the testimony of Aulon, P. iii. 215, and the account of Jean Chartier, iv. 60. See Pasquerel, iii. 108, and 124, Colette Milet. Their testimony is very circumstantial. See, also, iv. 227, *Chron. Puc.;* 365, Monstrelet.

that God had greatly favored them in what they had already accomplished. "Considering that the city is now fully supplied with food," he went on, "we can well afford to guard the town closely, and to wait for reinforcements from the king. It does not seem best to the council that we should fight to-morrow."

"You have been in your council," Joan replied, "and I have been in mine, and you may believe that the counsel of my Lord shall hold and shall be accomplished, while councils of your sort shall come to naught. Get up early to-morrow morning, fight your best, and you shall do more than you did to-day."[1]

The captains were staggered by her assurance. Over some of them she had gained great influence, and they had not been unanimous in putting off the final struggle with the English. Moreover, the burghers were furious at the thought of delay. They remonstrated with the generals, and, as if their exhortations were needed, begged Joan to lead the attack.[2] For seven weary months the English had lain at their gates, while they had been fed with broken promises by the king and his councilors. To them it seemed madness not to take advantage of the succor sent them by Heaven. Assailed on every side, the council of war at last recalled its decision.

During the operations of Friday, the main body of the English, encamped to the west of Orleans, had been strangely quiet. On Friday night Talbot tried to send a small body of men across the river, apparently without much success, for the boats were upset, and some of the men were drowned, as the French found out years afterward by fishing up their armor from the river-bed.[3]

[1] P. iii. 108, Pasquerel.

[2] See P. v. 293, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.* It is doubtful if this account is by an eye-witness, but see Boucher de Molandon's edition of the chronicle.

[3] P. v. 293, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.*

Probably Talbot believed that the Tourelles could hold out against any attack, but there was another cause for his indecision. By this time the English knew quite as well as did the French that some one had come to Orleans asserting a power to raise the siege. Angel or witch, they stood in awe of her, for they could see that her coming had made the French soldiers new men.

On Saturday morning Joan rose early. Her success of the day before, and the exhilaration of actual encounter with the English after so many weeks of waiting, gave her good spirits. They brought her a shad for breakfast, but she was already on horseback. "Keep it for to-night," she said, "and I will bring back a 'goddam' with me to eat his share; and I shall come back across the bridge."[1] May 7, 1429.

When she and the captains reached the field, the assault began on the boulevard which covered the Tourelles. Its captains understood that they must make good their defense without help from Talbot; this they were ready to do, boasting that they could hold out a fortnight against the power of France and England combined. The walls of the boulevard were high and strong, the garrison was as large as the place would allow, and amply provided with cannon and small arms.[2] The French planted their scaling-ladders, and climbed them so bravely that, "to judge by their gallant bearing, they thought themselves immortal;"[3] the English hurled them down into the ditch with axes, clubs, and gunshot, sometimes grappling with them hand to hand. At the other side of the Tourelles the French kept up a constant fire across the opening in the bridge. In spite of their gallantry, by midday the assailants had accomplished nothing.

[1] P. iii. 124, Colette Milet.

[2] See iv. 365, Monstrelet; *Rel. inéd.*, 27; iii. 94, Alençon; iv. 8, Cagny; 159, *Journ. Siège;* 493, Windecken; v. 134.

[3] P. iv. 160, *Journ. Siège.*

Early in the afternoon Joan, who had been in the thick of the fight, encouraging the soldiers, seized a ladder and set it against the wall of the boulevard. As she was about to climb up, an arrow struck her between the neck and the shoulder. The wound was several inches deep, and she was carried at once to the rear, where her armor was taken off. Though she had expected to be hurt,[1] yet she cried out for a moment at the physical pain, as any brave girl might do. When, however, those who crowded about her tried to put charms on the wound, she would not allow them to do so, saying that the thing was a sin. The wound was dressed with olive oil; she was armed again, and returned to the field.[2]

The Bastard and the other captains were discouraged. From early morning until late in the day they had been fighting, and had not won a foot of ground. The Bastard himself, though brave and unwounded, "had had enough of it," as he afterwards said, and wished the army to retire into the city. The trumpets sounded retreat. "And then the said Maid came to me," so the Bastard himself testified, "and begged me to wait yet a little longer. She thereupon mounted her horse, and withdrew alone into a vineyard at some distance from the crowd, in which vineyard she remained in prayer for about half a quarter of an hour; then, having come back from that place, at once she took her pennon in her hands, and posted herself at the edge of the ditch."[3]

The battle began again. Beside the attack on the boulevard, some of the garrison and citizens threw beams

[1] P. i. 79, J.'s test.; iv. 426. There can hardly be a doubt that Joan announced beforehand that she should be wounded, as there exists an abstract of a letter which mentions the prediction, and was written April 22. Joan's expectation of injury made not the least difference in her actions.

[2] P. i. 79, J.'s test.; iii. 8, Bastard; 70, Coutes; 109, Pasquerel; iv. 61, J. Chartier; 160, *Journ. Siège;* 228, *Chron. Puc.*

[3] P. iii. 8.

and gutters from pier to pier across the opening which had been made in the bridge on the town-ward side of the Tourelles, until they reached the Tourelles itself. "It was a hard thing," says a chronicler of Orleans, "to make these temporary bridges, inasmuch as the English had built fortifications strong and well placed; but God was in all the work, and so, when any man began to labor he became a skillful workman, as if he had been brought up to the trade. The citizens loaded a great skiff with firewood and bones, with old leather and sulphur, and the most stinking things that could be found. This boat was brought between the Tourelles and the boulevard, and there was set afire, which much distressed the English; and besides, though they had the best cannon in the world, yet a man could have thrown a shot as hard as their cannons did, which was a fine miracle."[1]

The fortune of the fight turned. The English powder had given out, and the English soldiers, struggling against great odds, and exhausted by the length and ferocity of the battle, were dismayed by the reappearance of Joan, who, as they thought, had been killed or disabled. As the French fought about her, close to the ditch, some of them saw a white cloud float above her pennon, while to others the pennon seemed to change its direction and to reach out toward the wall. At that moment she cried to them, "Into the fort, children; in God's name they are ours." "And never," so says the same chronicler, "was seen flock of birds lighting on a hedge as thick as were the French climbing up the said boulevard."[2]

Though the boulevard was lost, the English kept their discipline and fell back across the drawbridge into the

[1] P. v. 293, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.*

[2] P. v. 294, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.* According to a popular story, one of the garrison said that it seemed to him as if the whole world was gathered to the attack. P. iv. 163.

Tourelles, William Glasdale, their captain, covering their rear. The fire, however, had spread from the fire-boat to the drawbridge, and this broke under the great weight, carrying down Glasdale and many of his soldiers, who were drowned in their heavy armor. Further resistance was out of the question, and the remnant of the English force which had reached the Tourelles in safety surrendered at once.[1] More planks were hastily thrown across the gaps in the bridge on both sides of the Tourelles, and Joan rode back into the city through the fort and across the bridge, as she had foretold that very morning. "All the bells of the city began to ring out, and the people to praise and thank the Lord."[2]

The capture of the Tourelles made untenable the position of Talbot and his troops in the forts west of Orleans. The English forces which, even before the attack on St. Loup, were on the whole inferior to the French, had suffered much more severely in the battles of Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, though the French losses had been considerable. Instead of a besieger, Talbot might at any moment find himself besieged. The French, moreover, lately discouraged, were now ready to dare anything, while the English soldiers were more than half inclined to believe that supernatural forces, either of heaven or hell, were arrayed against them. Without haste and in good order Talbot prepared to retreat.

May 8, 1429. On Sunday morning Joan, still weak from her wound, put on a coat of armor lighter than that she had worn, and, with the Bastard and the rest, marched out of the west gate against the English forts. Before them they saw the English army, drawn up by Talbot in order of battle. The confident French soldiers

[1] In addition to the authorities already cited, see P. iii. 25, Luillier; 80, Beaucroix; 216, Aulon. Glasdale's body was embalmed and taken to Paris, where it lay in the church of St. Mary. It was buried in England. P. iv. 463, *Journ. Bourg.*

[2] P. iv. 62, J. Chartier.

were eager to attack, but Joan restrained them. "If they attack you," she said, "fight bravely like men, and you will get the better of them, but do not begin the battle." She then sent for a priest and bade him celebrate mass in front of the army. When one mass was over, she bade him celebrate another, "both of which she and all the soldiers heard with great devotion." "Now look," she said, "and see if their faces are set toward us." They told her that, on the contrary, the English had turned their backs, and were retreating toward Meung. "In God's name, they are gone," said she. "Let them escape, and let us go and praise God, and follow them no farther, since this is Sunday." "Whereupon," says a chronicler, "the Maid with the other lords and soldiers returned to Orleans with great joy, to the great triumph of all the clergy and people, who with one accord returned to our Lord humble thanks and praises well deserved for the victory he had given them over the English, the ancient enemies of this realm."[1]

Another chronicler of Orleans, writing about thirty years after the siege, gives an account of the foundation of the festival of the eighth of May. "My lord the bishop of Orleans, and my lord of Dunois [the Bastard], brother of my lord the duke of Orleans, with the duke's advice, as well as the burghers and inhabitants of the said Orleans, ordered that on the eighth of May there should be a procession of people carrying candles, which procession should march as far as the Augustines, and, wherever the fight had raged, there a halt should be made and a suitable service should be had in each place with prayer. We cannot give too much praise to God and the Saints, since all that was done was done by God's grace, and so, with great devotion, we ought to take part in the said proces-

[1] P. iii. 9, Bastard; 29, Champeaux; 80, Beaucroix; 110, Pasquerel; 217, Aulon; iv. 9, Cagny; 62, J. Chartier; 163, *Journ. Siège;* 366, Monstrelet.

sion. Even the men of Bourges and of certain other cities celebrate the day, because, if Orleans had fallen into the hands of the English, the rest of the kingdom would have taken great harm. Always remembering, therefore, the great mercy which God has shown to the said city of Orleans, we ought always to maintain and never to abandon this holy procession, lest we fall into ingratitude, whereby much evil may come upon us. Every one is obliged to join the said procession, carrying a lighted candle in his hand. It passes round about the town in front of the church of our Lady of Saint Paul, at which place they sing praises to our Lady; and it goes thence to the cathedral, where the sermon is preached, and thereafter a mass is sung. There are also vigils at Saint Aignan and, on the morrow, a mass for the dead. All men, therefore, should be bidden to praise God and to thank Him; for at the present time there are youths who can hardly believe that the thing came about in this wise; you, however, should believe that this is a true thing, and is verily the great grace of God."[1]

The fears of the pious chronicler have not been realized. Three hundred years ago the ancient walls of Orleans were outgrown, and even the walls which took their place have lately been leveled into modern boulevards; the cathedral fell a prey to the Huguenots, and has since been rebuilt; in the middle of the last century the old bridge was pulled down, and, by a change in the river's course, the southern end of it, where the Tourelles stood, has now become dry land; but almost without interruption the procession has gone on for more than four hundred and fifty years. The priests still march through the streets of the city, halt in the busy square across the river where the boulevard of the Tourelles was stormed, and return to the cathedral for the Te Deum and for a sermon on Joan of Arc.

[1] P. v. 296, *Chron. de l'établissement de la fête.*

In 1456, rather more than twenty-five years after the siege, some thirty men and women of Orleans, all eye-witnesses, were examined concerning Joan's conduct during her stay in the city. "And in this they all agreed," so runs the minute of their depositions, "that they had never perceived by any means whatever that the said Joan set to the glory of her own valor the deeds that she had done, but rather ascribed everything to God, and, as far as she was able, prevented the people from honoring her or giving her the glory; for she preferred to be alone and solitary rather than to be in men's company, unless that was necessary for the purpose of war."[1] "Never was seen the like of the deeds that you do," so the people told her; "in no book can such wonders be read." Joan answered, "My Lord has a book in which no clerk ever read, were he never so clerkly."[2]

[1] P. iii. 31. [2] P. iii. 110, Pasquerel.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE LOIRE. — JARGEAU.

JOAN'S victory before Orleans had a great effect.[1] The French regained the natural courage which their many defeats and misfortunes had shaken, and the English, both leaders and soldiers, lost much of the boastful confidence which their repeated successes had almost justified. The effect was not confined to the armies on the Loire. Once a day, or oftener, hard-riding messengers brought the news from Orleans to Chinon, and the king sent it on to all parts of France, calling the attention of his subjects to his own "continual diligence in giving all possible aid to the city."[2] Talbot at once informed Bedford of his retreat, and the regent, who knew well the uncertain loyalty of his French subjects, recognized the danger caused by such a loss of prestige.[3]

May 8–22, 1429.

Talbot and Bedford and the English captains and soldiers, however, were neither disheartened nor demoralized, and they had no intention of giving up the strong places about Orleans which they had taken in the summer and autumn of 1428. The main body of the English army had not yet met Joan in battle, and its retreat on Sunday morning had been made in good order, with small

[1] A Burgundian chronicler says that "throughout France fools and simple folks called her the Angelic." *Livre des Trahisons*, in *Chron. Belg. inéd.*, ii. 197.

[2] P. v. 100 ; see *Rel. inéd.*, 28.

[3] See P. iv. 233, *Chron. Puc.;* 369, Monstrelet ; 451, Fauquemberque ; Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 95 ; Lefèvre Pontalis, *Panique anglaise en mai*, 1429.

loss, except of siege artillery.[1] Talbot and the larger part of his troops took up their position at Meung and Beaugency, below Orleans, while Suffolk with five or six hundred soldiers was sent up the river to Jargeau. Smaller detachments garrisoned the towns between Orleans and Paris.[2]

This, then, was the state of affairs. At Orleans, the northernmost point of the semicircular sweep of the Loire, the French had a strong fortress on the north bank of the river, with a fortified *tête du pont* on the south bank. Between Gien, thirty miles up-stream, and Blois, almost as far below, this was the only place at which they could cross the river. Some ten miles above Orleans, Suffolk held Jargeau for the English with the only bridge between Orleans and Gien.[3] Ten miles below Orleans, Talbot's troops held Meung with its fortified bridge; at Beaugency, five miles below Meung, was still another, covered by the strong citadel of the place. The next bridge was at Blois. Orleans was thus a French outpost on the only road by which the French could march north into a country full of English fortresses, or could retreat from that country south across the Loire. The English, on the other hand, in marching south, could cross the Loire above or below Orleans, ravage at will the country held by the French, cut off any force approaching or leaving the city, and then recross the river at any one of three places they might choose.[4] Repulsed for the time, they had no notion of giving up these advantages, and Bedford hastened to bring to Paris from all quarters another army which

[1] See P. iv. 233, *Chron. Puc.*

[2] See P. iv. 10, 44, 170, 233, 368.

[3] It is just possible that there was a bridge at Sully, which place was soon given up to the French. See Viollet le Duc, *Dict. Arch.*, iii. 161; Godefroy, *Hist. Charles VII.*, 376.

[4] Jargeau, Meung, Beaugency.

should reinforce Talbot and enable that general to resume the offensive.[1]

Notwithstanding the success of the French arms, and the high spirit of the troops and of the citizens of Orleans, the inferior discipline and organization of the French army kept it from following Talbot in his retreat. There was lack of provisions and money, the troops were dispersing, and Joan had to go back to the king for help, as well as in order to urge his setting out for consecration at Rheims. On Monday or Tuesday, accordingly, she left Orleans, with Rais and other captains, and rode to Blois, where she passed a day or two. The Bastard seems to have remained at Orleans with a small force.[2]

Since his return from Poitiers with Joan, Charles VII. had kept himself safe at Chinon, but immediately after the relief of Orleans he came to Tours, and there met Joan on Wednesday or Thursday.[3] She had shown the sign which she had promised, and had accomplished the first part of her mission. To her there seemed no reason for further hesitation in going forward with the second part of the same mission, the march to Rheims and the consecration of the Dauphin.[4] If it was desirable to retake the towns which the English still held in the valley of the Loire, she was willing to go against them provided they were attacked at once, and provided that their capture was meant only as the first step in the expedition to Rheims.[5]

The plans of the royal council, for the poor king had none of his own, were not so simple. From this time forward the division of parties at court grew more marked,

[1] See P. iv. 233, *Chron. Puc.;* 368, Monstrelet.

[2] P. iii. 80, Beaucroix; iv. 165, 167, *Journ. Siège;* 234, *Chron. Puc.*

[3] Charles is said to have greeted her warmly. *Rev. Hist.* t. xix. 61.

[4] Charles had talked about going to Rheims as early as 1423. Beaucourt, ii. 59.

[5] P. iv. 497, Windecken; v. 101, 119, 258; *Les la Trémoille*, 188.

week by week, and almost day by day. La Trémoille, the master of the wretched Charles, had allowed the expedition to Orleans. He was not unwilling that the city should be relieved, if this could be done without danger to his own power; but the completeness of Joan's victory had aroused his opponents, and the awakening of French patriotism threatened his overthrow. He represented no considerable class in the community, and had no support from any of the great forces of mediæval France. The cities suffered from the excesses allowed by his misrule; the clerical officers, the bureaucracy, dreaded his violence and were aghast at his rapacity and at the financial distress which it caused; the great nobles hated him because he kept them out of power. Himself a nobleman of some importance, he was the head of a small party of political and military adventurers, which was likely to be overthrown at the appearance of any strong man, or by any great outburst of popular feeling. Only so long as things went on as before, in aimless negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, in petty military expeditions, in universal jealousy, and in private war between the nominal supporters of Charles, could La Trémoille govern France. A real victory, a successful campaign, brought him into great danger.

Joan's strongest support had come from Yolande of Anjou and from the duke of Alençon, both of whom were friendly to La Trémoille's enemies. Though they had not quarreled openly with the favorite, they both recognized that the hearty support of all loyal Frenchmen was needed to defeat the English, and, besides, they were themselves closely allied by blood or marriage with the great nobles whom La Trémoille tried to keep away from court. There were still stronger reasons for the favorite's anxiety. His greatest rival was his former patron, the constable, Arthur of Brittany, count of Richemont. For many months he had spent the royal treasure in

private war with Richemont, and by every means had sought to keep him from Charles's presence. Both Richemont and the duke of Brittany were uncles of Alençon, brothers of the dowager duchess who had received Joan so kindly at St. Florent. The constable began to gather an army, and Duke John, a pious prince, sent his confessor to see Joan and to make inquiries about her.[1] La Trémoille became very uneasy.

A fortnight or so was spent in debate at Tours; then the court moved to Loches, some thirty miles away, a grim fortress, better suited to Charles's humor than a large city.[2] As Joan rode into the place the people crowded about her horse and tried to kiss her hands and feet. A churchman, the abbot who had examined her at Poitiers, blamed her for allowing these manifestations, and told her to keep herself from like things because she was making the people idolaters. "In truth," she answered, "I should not know how to guard myself from these things, unless God guarded me."[3]

May 22–31, 1429.

By this time she must have discovered that churchmen were not her only enemies. As yet she did not realize the state of parties in the royal council, but she knew that time was being wasted, and that even the sign she had just given at Orleans had not removed all doubts. Things were not going well in the field. The Bastard had led a considerable force against Jargeau without waiting for Joan, and, after some skirmishing, had found it wise to retreat, as the waters of the Loire were high and filled the ditches about the town.[4] Still the council hesitated, and discussed many plans. After about a week's stay in Loches the king was closeted one day with his confessor and two other members of his council,

[1] P. iv. 316, Gruel; Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 580.

[2] P. iv. 497, Windecken. Charles was at Loches, May 22. Beaucourt, iii. 516.

[3] P. iii. 84, Barbin.

[4] P. iv. 167, *Journ. Siège.*

Robert le Maçon and Christopher of Harcourt. Accompanied by the Bastard, who was come to Loches, Joan knocked at the door of the king's apartments. As soon as she came into the room, she knelt before Charles, and said to him, clasping his knees: "Noble Dauphin, do not hold so many and so lengthy councils, but come at once to Rheims and take the crown which is yours." Harcourt asked her if she spoke by the advice of her council. Joan told him that she did, and that she had been much urged to speak. "Will you not tell us here, in the king's presence," said Harcourt, "the manner of your council, when it speaks to you?" Joan blushed, for she never liked to gratify idle curiosity about things sacred to her, but she saw that she must speak. "I understand well enough what you want to know," she answered, "and I will tell you freely." She then said that when she was grieved in any way, because men would not believe the things she told them in God's behalf, she went into some place apart and there prayed to God, bewailing because those to whom she spoke would not readily believe her. When her prayer was said, she used to hear a voice saying to her, "Child of God, go, go. I will be with thee, go;"[1] and as she heard this voice she was very glad, wishing always to be in such condition as that. "What is more remarkable," adds the Bastard, who tells the story, "while she was repeating the words spoken by her voices, she rejoiced marvelously, raising her eyes to heaven."[2]

Whether the decision was influenced by Joan's appeal cannot be known certainly. By some means or other the party of action triumphed, and early in June the duke of Alençon was given command of the army, with orders to lead it against Jargeau and the other fortresses on the Loire which were in English hands. It was supposed

[1] "Fille Dé, va, va, va. Je serai à ton aide; va."

[2] P. iii. 11, 12.

that Charles himself might take some part in the campaign, but he did nothing of the sort.[1]

The rendezvous was at Selles, about fifteen miles from Loches and about fifty miles south of Orleans. Thither Joan went soon after June 1, and there were rapidly gathered men from almost all parts of France, aroused by the news of her exploits before Orleans, and beginning again to hope for their country. Among them were two brothers, one still a boy, whose father had been killed at Agincourt. They had been brought up by their mother, who had defended their castles against the English, and by their grandmother, in her youth the wife of the great constable, Bertrand Duguesclin. The incoherent, boyish letter, written to the women at home by these two young soldiers, Guy and Andrew of Laval,[2] is the most picturesque account we have of the state of affairs in France.

June 1–8, 1429.

My revered Ladies and Mothers, — After I wrote you on Friday last from St. Catherine of Fierbois, I reached Loches on Saturday, and went to see my lord dauphin[3] in the castle, after vespers in the collegiate church. He is a very fair and gracious lord, very well made and active, and ought to be about seven years old. Sunday I came to St. Aignan, where the king was, and I sent for my lord of Trèves[4] to come to my quarters; and my uncle went up with him to the castle to tell the king I was come, and to find out when he would be pleased to have me wait on him. I got the answer that I should go as soon as I wished, and he

June 8, 1429.

[1] P. v. 110.

[2] For the brothers, see Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 539, 544, 553, 562. Andrew was born about 1412. Guy was probably but a year or two older. See, also, *Chron. Puc.*, 216, 254; Godefroy, *Hist. Charles VII.*, 5, 6, 217.

[3] Afterwards Louis XI.

[4] Gaucourt, the old commander of the garrison of Orleans.

greeted me kindly and said many pleasant things to me.

On Monday I left the king to go to Selles, four leagues from St. Aignan, and the king sent for the Maid, who was then at Selles. Some people said that this was done for my sake, so that I could see her; at any rate she was very pleasant to my brother and me, being fully armed, except for her head, and holding her lance in her hand. Afterwards, when we had dismounted at Selles, I went to her quarters to see her, and she had wine brought, and told me she would soon serve it to me in Paris; and what she did seemed at times quite divine, both to look at her and to hear her. Monday at vespers she left Selles to go to Romorantin, three leagues in advance, the marshal of Boussac and a great many soldiers and common people being with her. I saw her get on horseback, armed all in white, except her head, with a little battle-axe in her hand, riding a great black courser, which was very restive at the door of her lodgings, and would not let her mount. So she said, "Lead him to the cross," which was in front of the church near by, in the road. There she mounted without his budging, just as if he had been tied, and then she turned toward the church door which was close by, and said, "You priests and churchmen, make a procession and pray to God." She then set out on the road, calling "Forward, forward," with her little battle-axe in her hand, and her waving banner carried by a pretty page.

On Monday my lord duke of Alençon came to Selles with a great company, and to-day I won a match from him at tennis. I found here a gentleman sent from my brother Chauvigny, because he had heard that I had reached St. Catherine. The man said that he had summoned his vassals and expected soon to be here, and that he still loved my sister dearly, and that she was stouter than she used to be. It is said here that my lord consta-

ble is coming with six hundred men at arms and four hundred archers, and that the king never had so great a force as they hope to gather. But there is no money at court, or so little that for the present I can expect no help nor maintenance; so since you have my seal, my lady mother, do not hesitate to sell or mortgage my lands, or else make some other provision by which we may be saved; otherwise through our own fault we shall be dishonored, and perhaps come near perishing, since, if we do not do something of the kind, as there is no pay, we shall be left quite alone. So far we have been, and we still are, much honored, and our coming has greatly pleased the king and all his people, and they make us better cheer than you could imagine.

The Maid told me in her lodgings, when I went there to see her, that three days before my coming she had sent to you, my grandmother, a little gold ring, but she said that it was a very little thing and that she would willingly have sent you something better considering your rank.

To-day my lord of Alençon, the Bastard of Orleans, and Gaucourt should leave this place of Selles, and go after the Maid, and you have sent I don't know what letters to my cousin La Trémoille and to my lord of Trèves, so that the king wants to keep me with him until the Maid has been before the English places around Orleans to which they are going to lay siege, and the artillery is already prepared, and the Maid makes no doubt that she will soon be with the king, saying that when he starts to advance toward Rheims I shall go with him; but God forbid that I should do this, and not go with her at once; and my brother says so, too, and so does my lord of Alençon, — such a good-for-nothing will a fellow be who stays behind. They think that the king will leave here to-day, to draw nearer to the army, and men are coming in from all directions every day. They hope that before ten days are out affairs will be nearly settled one

way or the other, but all have so good hope in God that I believe He will help us.

My very respected ladies and mothers, we send our remembrances, my brother and I, to you, as humbly as we can; and please also write us at once news of yourselves, and do you, my lady mother, tell me how you find yourself after the medicines you have taken, for I am much troubled about you.

My very respected ladies and mothers, I pray the blessed son of God to give you a good life and a long one, and we both of us also send our remembrances to our brother Louis. Written at Selles this Wednesday the 8th of June.

And this vespers there came here my lord of Vendôme, my lord of Boussac, and others, and La Hire is close to the army, and soon they will set to work. God grant that we get our wish.

Your humble sons,

GUY and ANDREW OF LAVAL.[1]

On Wednesday afternoon Alençon and Joan left Romorantin with about two thousand troops and marched toward Orleans. They were soon joined by the Bastard and other captains, with an equal force, and together they entered the city on Thursday, June 9.[2] Again there was debate among the leaders. Some of them were for attacking Jargeau at once, while others dreaded the coming of Fastolf, who was advancing from Paris with a considerable body of men, got together by Bedford in order to reinforce Talbot and the garrisons on the Loire. The duke of Alençon, who had not been with Joan at the raising of the siege, describes her

June 9, 1429.

[1] P. v. 105.

[2] P. iii. 10, Bastard; 94, Alençon; iv. 170; *Journ. Siège*, and note; v. 109; Laval's letter, just quoted. See iv. 11, Cagny. Alençon says that the force amounted to about 1,200 lances.

influence at this time in terms like those used by the Bastard and others in speaking of the encouragement she gave them five or six weeks before. They should not fear the force of the enemy, she said, nor hesitate to attack the English, since God was directing their work; and she added that, unless she were sure of God's leadership, she would rather tend sheep than expose herself to danger. Thereupon the captains decided to push the war.[1]

Jargeau was a compact little town, about four hundred yards square, perfectly flat, built close to the south bank of the Loire, and connected by a bridge within the village of St. Denis on the north bank. It was defended by strong walls, and the fosse outside them was filled with water from the river. William Pole, earl of Suffolk, held the place with about six hundred men, a force probably quite large enough to man the defenses.[2] From the church tower he could survey the country for miles, and watch every movement of his enemy. Even the spires of Orleans could be plainly seen in the distance.

On Saturday morning the expedition, commanded by Alençon, started to travel along the twelve miles of flat road leading to Jargeau through the Sologne. There were three thousand soldiers or thereabouts, who had come to Orleans with Joan, and a large body of townspeople and men from the country round about. A considerable siege train was sent by water.[3] Early in the afternoon the army approached Jargeau. The men of Orleans, encouraged by their marvelous

June 11, 1429.

[1] P. iii. 95, Alençon.

[2] See Leroy, *Jargeau et ses environs;* P. iv. 12, Cagny; 236, *Chron. Puc.;* v. 56, Martial d'Auvergne.

[3] For this and a detailed account of the munitions sent from Orleans to Jargeau, see Villaret, *Campagnes des Anglais*, 145 et seq.; Leroy, 190 et seq. One large cannon went by land. Cagny says that there were 2,000 or 3,000 soldiers and as many common people. The *Journ. Siège* says there were about 8,000 fighting men altogether.

success only a month before, without waiting for the advance of the soldiers rushed at once into the ditches and tried to storm the place. The garrison stood bravely to arms, beat them off without much trouble, and even took the offensive, charging upon them and driving them back upon the main body. It is likely that the French regulars were not very sorry to see misfortune befall this unprofessional warfare; but Joan, who remembered how gallantly these citizens had supported her attack on the Tourelles, seized her banner and led the men at arms to their rescue. The English in turn were driven back; the French occupied the environs of the town up to the very ditch, and there they passed the night. Confused, perhaps, by the zeal of the irregulars, the army was in some disorder, and few sentries were posted. Alençon attributed the safety of his men to that leadership of God of which Joan had spoken.[1]

During the night and the early morning the artillery was posted, and soon after sunrise the bombardment began. Suffolk was not unwilling to treat, and offered to surrender the place in fifteen days unless sooner relieved; but the blood of the French was up, and La Hire, who parleyed with him, was angrily called away. Joan said that the English might leave in their tunics if they wished, without arms or armor, otherwise the place should be stormed. Suffolk would not consider these terms, and the cannons began again. One of the towers was destroyed, and the French sharpshooters picked off some of the garrison with their culverins.[2] June 12, 1429.

The English had their artillery, too, and its firing was not without effect. As Joan and Alençon were standing together, watching the bombardment, she told him to step aside, lest he should be killed by a gun on the walls which she pointed out to him. He withdrew, and in a

[1] P. iii. 95, Alençon; iv. 12, Cagny.

[2] P. i. 79, J.'s test.; iii. 95, Alençon.

few minutes a gentleman was killed on the very spot. Soon she grew impatient; there were rumors of Fastolf's approach, and she urged an immediate attack. The trumpets sounded, and she cried to Alençon, "Forward, gentle duke, to the assault." He did not advance, as it seemed to him that her plan was rash. "Do not hesitate," she said; "when it pleases God, the hour is prepared. God helps those who help themselves." Then, seeing that he still halted, "Ah, gentle duke," she asked, "are you afraid? Do you not know that I promised your wife to bring you back safe and sound?" Thereat they both rushed to the attack.[1]

It was still Sunday morning when the assault began, soldiers and men of Orleans fighting side by side. Again Suffolk tried to parley, but this time could get no hearing. For several hours the struggle went on, Joan in the thick of it. Banner in hand, she seized a ladder and, as at the Tourelles, tried to mount the wall. One of the garrison threw down a stone which knocked the banner out of her hand and, striking the light helmet she wore, beat her to the ground. At once she sprang up and called to the soldiers, "Friends, friends, forward, onward, our Lord has condemned the English. The day is ours. Keep a good heart."[2]

The English could hold out no longer, the town was stormed, and Suffolk retreated toward the bridge; on that side Jargeau was protected from assault by the river, and he hoped to escape into the Beauce. The French were too close upon him, however; his brother and many of the garrison were slain in the narrow streets, while he surrendered with all that were left alive.[3] The stubborn-

[1] P. iii. 96, Alençon; iv. 170, 171, *Journ. Siège.*

[2] Alençon and *Journ. Siège*, ubi supra.

[3] Before surrendering, Suffolk is said to have knighted his captor, so that he might not surrender to one of inferior rank. P. iv. 173. See *Rev. Hist.*, iv. 332.

ness of the defense had infuriated the besiegers, among whom were many country people wholly without discipline, and the town was sacked, even to the church, where the citizens had stored their goods. In the horrible confusion, Joan was powerless to stop the sacrilege, but she took the experience to heart and profited by it. Even some of the prisoners were butchered on the road to Orleans, owing to a quarrel among their captors, and the others had to be sent down to the city by boat during the night.[1]

[1] See the authorities already quoted, and P. iv. 369, Monstrelet; *Rel. inéd.*, 29; Leroy, 79 et seq. According to Cagny the French lost not over twenty men killed.

CHAPTER X.

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE LOIRE. — PATAY.

On the same evening, or on the next morning, Joan and Alençon went back to Orleans, whence news of the victory was sent to the king. He had moved to Sully, a town between Jargeau and Gien, belonging to La Trémoille, which had become quite safe from attack and, fortunately, was on the road to Rheims. The news spread northward, also, reaching Paris on Tuesday, and filling the English with dismay.[1]

June 12–13, 1429.

After Jargeau had been taken, the Loire for about fifty miles above Orleans[2] was controlled by the French, but below the city Talbot held Beaugency with a moderate force, while Scales, his lieutenant, was posted at Meung.[3] The English army of relief, organized by Bedford as soon as possible after Talbot's retreat from Orleans, had left Paris early in June under the command of Sir John Fastolf, and on the day that Jargeau was taken it had reached Janville, only twenty-five miles distant.[4] The wisdom of Joan's vigorous attack upon Jargeau was now apparent. Fastolf had been pushing forward as rapidly as possible, but when he heard of the French success he halted, awaiting further reinforcements from Normandy.

Joan was desirous of following up at once the success

[1] See P. iv. 13, Cagny; 173, *Journ. Siège;* 452, Fauquemberque; Beaucourt, ii. 220.

[2] As far up the river as Bonny.

[3] Cagny, who was probably present, estimates the English garrison of Meung at about four hundred men.

[4] P. iv. 414, Wavrin; Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 95.

she had won at Jargeau. Tuesday was spent in Orleans, where the two Lavals were at length allowed to join the army. On Wednesday, at Joan's instance,[1] all left the city, and with a great force of horsemen and footmen, a large siege train, and many well-loaded wagons, marched down the Loire to Meung. The fortified bridge which there crossed the river was attacked at once and carried by storm after short resistance. The rest of the town was abandoned, and the soldiers of the garrison who escaped fled five miles farther down the river to Beaugency.[2] June 15, 1429.

On Wednesday afternoon a part of the French troops pushed on after the fugitives. As at Jargeau, the pursuers fell into some disorder, and Alençon, who with a few men passed the night in a church near Meung, thought himself in danger. On Thursday morning the army was united before Beaugency.[3] June 16, 1429.

When Talbot heard of the French advance, having no force sufficient to meet them in the field, he left Beaugency and rode to Janville to hasten the march of Fastolf. Before his departure, he withdrew the garrisons from one or two smaller places, and concentrated in Beaugency nearly the whole of his available force under Matthew Gough, a Welsh captain of bravery and discretion. As Gough had less than a thousand men, he did not try to defend the town of Beaugency, but retired into the castle, which covered the bridge. The French, accordingly, entered the town, and at once posted themselves so as to prevent Gough's escape northward through the Beauce; it was still possible for him to cross the river into the Sologne, but the country south of the Loire was entirely

[1] P. iv. 13, Cagny.

[2] P. iv. 173, *Journ. Siège;* 239, *Chron. Puc.;* 370, Monstrelet. It is impossible to say with certainty by which bank the French marched down the Loire; probably by the northern.

[3] P. iii. 97, Alençon.

hostile to him. The French planted their cannon and began the bombardment, which was interrupted by a sortie of the English. This cost both sides some men, but was at length repulsed.[1]

That very evening news was brought to Joan and to Alençon that the constable of France, Arthur of Richemont, was close at hand, with a considerable body of men. The situation was embarrassing. At the instigation of La Trémoille, Charles had forbidden the constable's approach, and Alençon, who was in command of the army, had been expressly ordered not to receive him. The duke was Richemont's nephew and not his personal enemy, yet he was ready to raise the siege and to withdraw, though some of the other captains were so favorable to the constable, or so hostile to La Trémoille, that they were willing to disregard the king's orders. The night passed without a decision, and on Friday morning
June 17, 1429. came a rumor of the advance of the English army under Talbot and Fastolf. The soldiers cried to arms, and Joan told the duke, who, as he says, still wished to retire, that he ought to be glad of Richemont's coming.[2]

They both mounted and rode out to meet him as he came up the river from Blois; with them went the Bastard, the two Lavals, and others. Richemont had already reached the outskirts of the town. The story of the interview is told quite differently by his biographer and by the so-called Chronicler of the Maid. According to the former, Joan threw herself at the constable's feet and after some parley was received into his favor; according to the latter, Richemont humbly begged Joan to pardon his offenses in the king's name, which she did at last, being entreated by Alençon and the other captains. Both these accounts are fantastical. Richemont was a

[1] P. iv. 414, Wavrin; 174, *Journ. Siège;* 14, Cagny.
[2] P. iii. 98; iv. 14, Cagny.

proud nobleman, the victim of unjust accusation, as he believed, while Joan certainly never knelt to any man save to her lawful king. What happened was probably much less theatrical. The English were at hand, the constable was greeted hastily, perhaps suspiciously, and all got ready for battle.[1]

We must now follow Talbot, who had left Beaugency before the arrival of the French.

Riding quickly with a small escort, he reached Janville about noon on Thursday, and found that Fastolf had assembled there a council of war. June 16, 17, 1429. The troops were glad of Talbot's coming, for "he was then accounted to be the wisest and bravest knight in the realm of England." After dinner the council sat again. Fastolf was for delay, urging that the result of the campaign had greatly disheartened the English and encouraged the French, and that it was best to stand on the defensive in the strongholds which the English still possessed, and to leave the garrison of Beaugency to make the best terms possible with its besiegers. Talbot would not hear of this plan. To the day of his death he was an impetuous man, unable to bear the imputation of cowardice, and, without a battle, he would not give way before a girl. Though he had only his escort and those who would follow him, he said, yet he would fight the French with the help of God and St. George. June 17, 1429. Fastolf yielded, and very early on Friday morning the army marched out of Janville.[2]

Even after the troops were drawn up with banners flying, Fastolf continued to remonstrate against the movement, saying that the English were greatly outnumbered, and that defeat meant the loss of their dominion in France. Again his advice was disregarded, and the army

[1] P. iv. 241, *Chron. Puc.;* 317, Gruel. See *Bib. Ecole Chartes*, t. xlvii. p. 556.

[2] P. iv. 414 et seq., Wavrin.

marched rapidly on Meung and Beaugency, so rapidly, indeed, that in the afternoon it reached a place distant about a league from each town. Posted on a small hill in front of Beaugency was the body of the French army, covering the siege of the castle and bridge.

Talbot expected an immediate attack, and drew up his archers and men at arms to resist it; then, finding that the French did not stir, he sent them heralds to announce that three English knights were ready to fight with any comers who would descend the hill. Doubtless he intended by this means to bring on a battle, but the heralds were answered that it was too late, and that the English had better encamp for the night. "In the morning," said the Frenchmen, "we will look you in the face."[1]

The English, however, had no intention of wasting time. Fearing to attack the French in their strong position, they left the field and fell suddenly upon Meung, occupying the town without a struggle, though the bridge was still held by its French garrison. It was night, but Talbot at once brought up his artillery, and the firing went on through the darkness. With the bridge of Meung in his possession, he could pass the Loire, and, marching through the Sologne, could enter Beaugency by its bridge. This was still held by Gough and his men, the body of the French army being in the Beauce, and able to cross the river only with difficulty. When Saturday morning came, however, the French still held the bridge of Meung.[2]

Meantime, the English garrison of Beaugency was in sore straits. Hard pressed, with battered walls, the soldiers had seen Alençon's army reinforced by the con-

[1] See Wavrin, ubi supra.

[2] Wavrin. In the *Chron. Puc.*, P. iv. 241, it is said that the constable was to lay siege to Beaugency on the side of the Sologne, over against the bridge. Apparently, the place surrendered before he did so.

stable, while the English army was gone they did not know where, though they were told by the French that it had fallen back on Paris. At about midnight on Friday Gough capitulated. His men, with their horses and arms, were to depart into the English possessions, not to bear arms against Charles VII. for a certain time. Gough himself was kept as a hostage. At sunrise on Saturday these terms were carried out, and the French were ready to take the field.[1] June 18, 1429.

The news of the surrender of Beaugency reached Talbot about nine o'clock on Saturday morning, after he had heard mass and just as he had ordered an assault on the bridge of Meung. The object of his expedition, the relief of Beaugency, having altogether failed, his prudence got the better of his zeal, and he at once ordered a retreat to Janville. This was begun in good order, the artillery and wagons preceding the main body of the army, and the rear protected by a force of picked Englishmen.[2]

At first the French were uncertain what to do. When Talbot issued from Meung, they supposed that he would again offer battle, and some of the captains seem to have suggested a retreat. Alençon asked Joan what was to be done. "Let all have good spurs," she answered. "What are you saying? shall we turn our backs upon them?" cried one of the captains, surprised at such advice from her. "No. It is the English who shall not be able to defend themselves and shall be overthrown, and you will need good spurs to ride after them." Very soon the captains saw that Talbot was in full retreat, and all started in pursuit. Their advance was somewhat disorderly, so greatly had constant success encouraged them, and so much did they fear lest the English should escape.

[1] See P. iv. 241, *Chron. Puc.;* and the letter, probably written by Jacques de Bourbon, printed in *Rev. Bleue*, t. xlix. p. 203.

[2] Wavrin.

The main body of the French was led by Joan, Alençon, and the constable; while the Bastard and La Hire with a force of cavalry hung upon the English rear, harassing their retreat, and delaying them until the rest of the French should come up. Joan herself wished much to join this force, and was angry that La Hire went in her place. Constantly she encouraged the pursuit. "In God's name we must fight them; if they were hung to the clouds, we should have them, for God sent them to us that we might punish them." "The gentle king shall have to-day the greatest victory he has ever won; my council has told me that they all are ours."[1]

Throughout the morning the English retreated as quickly as possible, and they made such good speed that early in the afternoon they drew near to Patay, twelve miles or more from Meung, and about as far from Janville, their objective point. The French had gained on them, however, and were within sight of their rear guard. Seeing that he could not escape without some fighting, Talbot ordered his advance guard, with the wagons and artillery, to take position near Patay, behind some stout hedges which would cover their front from the French cavalry. He himself dismounted, and with five hundred archers halted in a place where the road, through which the French must pass, was bordered on both sides by a hedge. Here he stood his ground while his main body hastened to join the train.[2]

Either the hedges or the woods at first concealed his position, but the French cavalry started a stag, which rushed among the English soldiers, and the shout these raised discovered them to the French. At once the

[1] P. iii. 10, Bastard; 98, Alençon; 71, Coutes; iv. 177, *Journ. Siège;* Letter of J. de Bourbon, cited above.

[2] P. iv. 421, Wavrin; see the notes to De Vassal, *Bataille de Patay.* For the battle, see P. iv. 67, J. Chartier; 318, Gruel; 340; 371, Monstrelet; v. 351.

Bastard charged upon Talbot, and routed his command after stout resistance, Talbot himself being taken prisoner. His defense, however, might have saved the rest of the troops, had they stood to their arms, but they were demoralized by their hasty retreat and by the fear of Joan. The soldiers posted to protect the train saw Fastolf hastening toward them; he was trying to get his command into position before it should be attacked by the French, but they supposed that he had been defeated, and they took to flight. Fastolf himself turned back to the field, hoping to die there or be captured, but he was dragged away by his escort and at last rode off to Paris. It was bloody work; even at the Tourelles Joan had never seen such slaughter, — for the most part slaughter of unresisting fugitives. After the English broke, the French cavalry had but to ride down the common soldiers, and receive the captains to ransom.[1] A Frenchman was dragging along several English prisoners; for some reason, he became angry with one of them, and struck him over the head, beating him senseless to the ground. This was then a common practice in war if the prisoner was not too valuable. But Joan at once dismounted and raised the prisoner's head, laying it in her lap; then she sent for a priest, and had him confessed, meanwhile comforting him as best she could.[2]

The French victory was complete. When at last some of the English fugitives reached Janville the inhabitants rose and barred the gates, and forced the commandant of the citadel to swear allegiance to Charles.[3] The English at once evacuated all the places they still held in the Beauce, and the country was clear of them almost as far

[1] The rest of those killed, says Monstrelet, "were all men of small and mean estate, such as they are wont to bring from their own country to die in France." P. iv. 374.

[2] P. iii. 71, Coutes.

[3] P. iv. 244, *Chron. Puc.*

as Paris. As Alençon, the constable, and Joan entered Patay after the fight, Talbot was brought before them. The duke said to his prisoner, perhaps in courteous excuse for so great a victory, that even on that very morning he did not suppose the like success to be possible, which Talbot answered with true English taciturnity by saying that it was the fortune of war. He was ransomed almost immediately, and complained bitterly, though unjustly, as it seems, that he had lost the battle through Fastolf's cowardice.[1]

In the campaign of the Loire, as it is usually called, the French had thus obtained complete success. Within a week they had taken three fortified places, had destroyed an English army in the field, and had freed several hundred square miles of country from the enemy. So much is clear, but we have yet to consider what share of this great success was due to Joan. That she was responsible for the tactics of the French army is not likely, for it was commanded by experienced officers, who directed the details of all movements. She was hardly responsible for the strategy of the campaign, for of strategy there seems to have been little. Indeed, as Talbot commanded the largest English force on the Loire, and as he was instantly expecting reinforcements, it seems that the French should first have attacked him at Meung and Beaugency, and should have left Suffolk at Jargeau until afterwards. To treat the successes of Joan like those of Alexander or Napoleon is gravely to mistake her power.

After all this has been said, however, it remains true that the success of the campaign was chiefly due to her. The two causes which gave victory to the French were the different morale of the two armies and the quickness of the French movements. That the excellent morale

[1] See P. iv. 375, Monstrelet. For Talbot's ransom, see Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, i. 422.

of the French and the doubtful morale of the English troops were both due to Joan is plain to any one reading the history of the siege of Orleans. "Before she came," writes a French chronicler of the time, "two hundred English used to chase five hundred Frenchmen; after her coming two hundred Frenchmen used to chase four hundred English." "The courage of the English," said a soldier serving under Fastolf, "was much changed and weakened; they saw their men enfeebled, and found them less firm in their judgment than they were wont to be."[1]

Again, the remarkable quickness and vigor of the French movements were largely the result of Joan's incessant exhortations. She urged the march on Jargeau, and a speedy assault. Had the place been suffered to hold out a day or two longer, Fastolf would have relieved it, or would have joined Talbot at Beaugency, for it was the news of the fall of Jargeau that halted his relieving army at Janville. It was Joan who advised the expedition against Meung and Beaugency, and it was she who pressed on the pursuit of Talbot, and thus secured the great victory of Patay. Alençon, the Bastard, the constable, and La Hire, all served creditably, yet it is altogether probable that without Joan's vigorous counsels the French success would have been incomplete. It should be said, besides, that she showed good judgment in dealing with the constable, and considerable self-restraint in declining Talbot's challenge on Friday, when a hostile fortress and an almost impassable river were in the rear of the French army. Considering all these things, it is no wonder that a captain who served with her in this campaign, and testified about her twenty-five years afterwards, looking back over a life of almost in-

[1] P. iv. 221, *Chron. Puc.*; 418, Wavrin. The implication subtly conveyed by the precise numbers that the previous demoralization of the French was a little greater than the subsequent demoralization of the English is noteworthy, though perhaps accidental.

cessant warfare, should have said that in all her deeds he believed there was more of the divine than of the human. The lasting glamour which her enthusiasm cast over him made him add that, in the leading of soldiers and in the art of war, in the setting of battle and in the encouragement of troops, she bore herself like the most skillful captain in the world.[1]

[1] See P. iii. 120, Thibaud d'Armagnac.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MARCH TO RHEIMS.

The battle of Patay was won on Saturday, June 18, in the afternoon. That night the army slept at or about Patay; on Sunday, after an early dinner, Joan returned to Orleans with Alençon and most of the captains.[1] The constable withdrew apart to Beaugency, where he waited for the king's permission to come to court. All efforts to secure this were vain; Joan and Alençon begged for it, two nobles of Richemont's suite went down on their knees to La Trémoille, but the favorite was inexorable. Apparently the constable did not think himself strong enough to force his way into Charles's presence. Perhaps he did not wish to endanger the expedition to Rheims. He attempted the siege of a fortress not far from Beaugency, and, having failed through no fault of his own, returned in disgust to his estates.[2] Never again did he meet Joan. June 18–23, 1429.

The news of Patay spread quickly to all parts of France. In Paris the partisans of England and Burgundy were in great fear. On Tuesday, when the news of the battle reached the city, there was a riot, and many believed that the victorious French were close on the heels of the English fugitives. It was still dangerous to be called an Armagnac, but it was whispered about the city that the English had been routed almost without

[1] P. iv. 16, Cagny.

[2] P. iv. 245, *Chron. Puc.*; 319, Gruel. See Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 579; P. iv. 17, Cagny; 46, Berry; 179, *Journ. Siège.*

resistance, and men's fear of them was therefore much lessened.[1]

On the other hand, when the mayor of La Rochelle received the bulletin sent by Charles, he ordered at once that all the bells should be rung, that all citizens should assemble in their parish churches to hear a Te Deum, and that bonfires should be lighted at the corners of the streets. On the next day there was a general procession to the church of Our Lady, and each child in La Rochelle was bribed by a cake to run before the crowd and shout "Noel" for joy.[2]

In Orleans, as was natural, the joy was greatest. The people poured out to welcome Joan, and filled the churches, thanking "God, the Virgin Mary, and the blessed Saints of Paradise for the mercy and the honor which our Lord had shown to the king and to them all."[3] At this time the agents of the duke of Orleans, acting under orders either sent by him from England or given by the Bastard in his behalf, provided for Joan clothes made of the richest stuffs, of red and green, his own colors, as if she were his champion. The blouse was green, dark green to denote his captivity; the long flowing cloak worn over it was made of fine crimson cloth of Brussels.[4]

It may seem strange to some readers that Joan, the messenger of God, should have allowed herself to be gorgeously dressed. Probably she did not think that her mission was concerned with clothes of one sort or another. Presents of fine clothing and of rich stuffs were then common, and it was characteristic of Joan to take life as she found it, so that she was not hindered in her own work. Besides, she was no ascetic, and, like

[1] P. iv. 452, Fauquemberque; *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429.
[2] *Rel. inéd.*, 31.
[3] P. iv. 16, Cagny.
[4] P. v. 112. See Vallet de Viriville, *Charles VII.*, ii. 136, n.

other girls everywhere, may well have taken innocent pleasure in gay colors. From the time she reached court until she became a prisoner, wherever her dress is described, it is always rich and brilliant.

The people of Orleans expected Charles to come to their city, since it was threatened no longer, and they decked their streets to welcome him.[1] He gave no sign of leaving Sully, however, where La Trémoille had him under complete control, and so, on Monday or Tuesday,[2] Joan set out from Orleans and joined him, meaning to urge his instant departure for Rheims. Again there was delay and doubt.[3] La Trémoille dreaded an advance; indeed, in the excitement of men's minds, he dreaded everything. Others honestly thought it madness to march more than a hundred miles through a hostile country full of fortified towns, with an active enemy on both flanks and in the rear. A day or two after Joan's arrival at Sully, Charles left the place for some unknown reason, crossed to the north bank of the Loire, and went to Châteauneuf, about fifteen miles down the river, and so much nearer Orleans. Again Joan made to him a personal appeal. Little by little she was learning that even the messenger of God can do nothing if men will not heed the message. Her anxiety and discouragement touched the king, who was not an ill-natured man, and he tried to soothe her. With tears in her eyes she told him that he must not hesitate, and that he would gain his whole realm, and would shortly be crowned.[4]

A council of war was held; moved by Joan's entreaties or directed by the courage with which she had inspired almost all Frenchmen, it decided to risk an advance.

[1] P. iv. 178, *Journ. Siège;* 245, *Chron. Puc.*

[2] June 20, 21.

[3] "Rex festinanter tendit ad consecrationem." P. v. 121, Boulainvilliers.

[4] P. iii. 116, Simon Charles; iv. 245, *Chron. Puc.*

Gien was appointed as the rendezvous, whither Charles went at once. The queen was sent for, that she, too, might be crowned, and Joan returned to Orleans to bring up the troops and munitions which had been left in that city. On Friday [1] she also started for Gien.[2]

June 24–27, 1429.

Thither flocked all sorts of men from all parts of loyal France. The royal treasury was almost empty, the pay was the scantiest, but enthusiasm took the place of money and even of arms. The war had made some gentlemen of good family very poor. Bueil, one of the French leaders, tells us that he began life by eking out his rags with the washing stolen from a neighboring castle.[3] Many of these gentlemen, much too poor to arm or to mount themselves as became their station, joined the expedition on foot armed only with bows or knives. "Each one of them," says a chronicler, "had great belief that by means of Joan much good would come to the realm of France, and so they desired earnestly to serve under her, and to learn her deeds, as if the matter were God's doing."[4] There were wonders in the air; in Poitou men saw knights in full armor blazing with fire ride through the sky, threatening ruin to the duke of Brittany for his friendliness to the English.[5] All Europe was curious, and letters were sent off to foreign princes, which gave full account of Joan's exploits, embellished with many myths and marvels.[6] If La Trémoille and his friends had been willing, it was said, the royal army might have been large enough to drive the English from

[1] June 24.

[2] Mary of Anjou had been in Bourges for some time; see P. iii. 85, La Touroulde; iv. 180, *Journ. Siège;* 247, *Chron. Puc.* For Joan's movements, see iv. 17, Cagny.

[3] See *Jouvencel*, ed. Lecestre, i. 16, 20, 23, 24; P. iv. 71, J. Chartier.

[4] P. iv. 248, *Chron. Puc.*

[5] P. v. 121.

[6] See P. v. 99, 114, and the letter of J. de Bourbon, already cited.

France. But no one dared to speak openly against the favorite, though all knew that the fault was his.[1]

Arrived at Gien in the midst of all this excitement, Joan wrote on Saturday to the "Gentle loyal Frenchmen" of Tournai. Alone of all the cities in northern France, Tournai had been faithful to Charles; for a hundred miles about it, the country was ruled by English and Burgundians. Joan's letter to the citizens was full of her usual confidence, which had been confirmed by the decision to march on Rheims. After telling them of her victories, "Keep yourselves good loyal Frenchmen, I pray you," she wrote; "and I pray and request that you hold yourselves ready to come to the consecration of the gentle king Charles at Rheims, where we shall come shortly. To God I commend you; may God have you in his keeping, and give you grace to maintain the good quarrel of the realm of France."[2]

Although the expedition had been agreed upon in theory, yet there was so much dispute over its line of march as to make probable an indefinite delay. From Gien westward to the Bay of Biscay, Charles's enemies had no post on the Loire; but higher up the river, nearly south of Gien,[3] the Anglo-Burgundians held the fortresses of Bonny, Cosne, and La Charité.[4] The garrisons of these places, if strong enough to take the field, were so placed that they could easily cut the king's line of communications as he marched on Rheims, and therefore some of his councilors urged him to reduce these towns before his departure. In giving this advice, they talked a deal about going to Rheims by way of La Charité; but as the former

[1] See P. iv. 71, J. Chartier; 179, *Journ. Siège.*

[2] P. v. 123. For the condition of Tournai, see Monstrelet, Bk. II. chaps. vi., xv., cxxxix.; Beaucourt, ii. 9, note.

[3] It must be remembered that above Gien the Loire flows nearly due north.

[4] La Charité is highest on the river, Bonny lowest.

is a hundred and thirty miles northeast of Gien, while the latter is forty miles to the south, it may easily be seen how great would have been the delay caused by taking this road, apart from the time needed to reduce two or three strong fortresses. Joan's voices told her that the king could reach Rheims in safety, if he would but try; both she and Alençon doubtless wished to take advantage of the English demoralization and want of troops, and so they strongly opposed any deviation from the direct line of march.[1] The fortune of war favored their plans. On Sunday, Bonny surrendered to the admiral of France,[2] and the nearest force of the enemy was thus disposed of.[3] On Monday,[4] Joan crossed the Loire with some of her troops, so as to excite the king to follow her.

June 29, 1429. On Wednesday, June 29, he, or his council for him, came to a decision, and the march began.[5] Before describing it in detail, it is necessary to review briefly the condition of France as changed by the French successes about Orleans, and to consider the advantages and the difficulties attending an advance on Rheims.

The battle of Patay not only was a defeat for the English, but it practically destroyed their only force which was fit to take the field. The regent Bedford, both a soldier and a statesman, labored incessantly to gather fresh troops, but time was needed to bring them from England, and he could not at once interpose an army to prevent the march of Charles upon Rheims. There were cities, indeed, through or past which Charles must march, and which by an obstinate resistance might delay him until Bedford should have gathered his army, but the condition of these cities was peculiar. Most of them had fallen to the Anglo-Burgundians about the time of the

[1] See p. iv. 17, Cagny ; 180, *Journ. Siège ;* 248, *Chron. Puc.*
[2] Louis of Culant.
[3] P. iv. 179, *Journ. Siège ;* 246, *Chron. Puc.* [4] June 27.
[5] P. iv. 17, Cagny ; 71, J. Chartier ; 180, *Journ. Siège.*

treaty of Troyes (1420). Charles VI. was then king of France, recognized by Armagnacs and Anglo-Burgundians alike, though the latter controlled his person and both claimed the exclusive right to speak in his name. The cities, therefore, made little difficulty in adhering to the treaty, though it recognized as the crazy king's heir his son-in-law Henry V., rather than his son Charles. They had no love of the Armagnac brigands and adventurers, who were in power at the Dauphin's court. Their municipal charters were treated with decent respect, for Bedford assumed to govern by law, and not as a conqueror, and therefore they made no attempt to revolt when the baby Henry, their old king's grandson, was proclaimed his successor. As the war dragged on year after year, however, their patriotism was gradually aroused. Outside of Paris the fierce partisan hatred of the Armagnacs had almost disappeared, and after the help of Heaven had been plainly given to Charles VII., few were zealous to oppose his march. The men of Champagne had no intention of revolting actively against the English rule. Officially, Charles was still their enemy; but to fight for a defeated foreigner against a victorious countryman seemed to them absurd.

It is true that there were garrisons in most of these places, commanded by captains in the pay of the English. But the garrisons were small, — reduced, perhaps, to reinforce the army which had been defeated at Patay, — and without help from the trained bands of the city, they were unable to offer decided resistance to Charles. Their commanders were old Burgundian partisans or noblemen who had accepted English rule. They would not betray their posts, but they could not forget that at some time they might become Charles's subjects; and, besides, they were embarrassed by the vacillation of the duke of Burgundy, to whom they looked for guidance. In a word, the obstacles to Charles's advance were very formidable

to look at, and would really be formidable if at any time he should meet with a serious check; but should he meet with any decided success, they were of a sort to disappear at once and altogether.

The third element in the situation was Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. His anger over his father's murder had cooled in ten years, and during that time he had had many disagreements with the English. More than once he had begun to negotiate with Charles and had made truces with him for part of their possessions.[1] He seems to have had an underlying belief that at some time and somehow Charles would become king of France, — though how much would be left of the kingdom after satisfying Philip's ambition and the claims he should choose to make on behalf of his English allies might be uncertain. Now that Charles had met with unexpected success, Philip was urged by jealousy to draw close to Bedford. He did not answer the letter that Joan wrote him from Gien, and he joined the regent in Paris; on the other hand, he still held himself ready to treat with Charles. His vacillation perplexed everybody, and no one more than his own servants. His councilors at Dijon, probably left to their own devices, sent messengers to La Trémoille to ask what the French intended to do. The precise answer which the favorite gave we do not know, but its purport may be guessed by his subsequent action.[2]

June 30–July 5, 1429.

On leaving Gien the royal army marched against Auxerre, about fifty miles to the eastward, to which town and to others near by Charles had sent letters commanding submission. One small place[3] on the road acknowledged him; but the men of Auxerre

[1] See Beaucourt, ii. 357, 361, 370, 373, 384, 389, 390, 401, 419; Plancher, *Hist. Bourgogne*, iv. 126.

[2] Beaucourt, ii. 401.

[3] St. Fargeau, on the Loing. P. iv. 377, Monstrelet.

were unwilling to do so, more because they were afraid to open their gates to an army of Armagnacs than because they were hostile to his claim to the throne. They looked to the duke of Burgundy much more than to the English. Their agents, perhaps joining those of the Burgundian council at Dijon, sought out La Trémoille and offered him money to spare the city from assault. He was able to carry out the corrupt bargain, probably by urging that Philip ought to be kept in good humor, though Joan and some of the captains declared it would be easy to take the city. Auxerre supplied the hungry army with food, made some vague promise of submission if the cities of Champagne should yield, and kept its gates safely shut. With somewhat diminished prestige and with complaints of the favorite, the army left Auxerre on July 2 or 3, and marched on Troyes, the capital of Champagne, about forty miles to the northeast.[1]

Whatever might be the divisions in the royal army, the whole province of Champagne was greatly excited and the English partisans were much alarmed. The country was full of wild rumors. An English captain wrote to the men of Rheims that Charles was advancing by way of Montargis, some sixty miles distant from the road he actually took.[2] In other places it was reported that Auxerre had been taken by storm and four thousand of its inhabitants put to the sword.[3] No city was sure of its neighbor. Each wondered if the other would open its gates to Charles, each feared to be the last or to set the example.

Thus the men of Troyes, on July 1, wrote to Rheims, knowing that Rheims was Charles's ultimate destination, and hearing that some of its citizens had promised to

[1] P. iv. 72, J. Chartier ; 181, *Journ. Siège ;* 377, Monstrelet. See Plancher, *Hist. Bourgogne*, iv. 130 ; *J. dans les chroniques messines.* éd de Bouteiller, 21.

[2] P. iv. 286.

[3] Letter of J. de Bourbon, cited above.

open its gates to him. They themselves would do nothing of the sort, so wrote the men of Troyes, but would "uphold the cause of the king [Henry VI.] and of the duke of Burgundy even to death inclusive."[1] By July 4 or 5, the advancing army was come within fifteen or twenty miles of Troyes,[2] and letters were sent forward to that city both from Charles and from Joan. The former demanded admittance and promised amnesty for all past offenses, the latter was in different style. "My very dear and good friends, if indeed you all are such," it began, "lords, burghers, and citizens of the town of Troyes, Joan the Maid in the name of the King of Heaven, her rightful and sovereign Lord, in whose royal service she daily stands, bids you give true obedience to the gentle king of France,[3] who will shortly be at Rheims and Paris, and in the good towns of his holy realm, by the aid of King Jesus, come what may. Loyal Frenchmen, come before king Charles without fail, and fear not for your bodies or your goods, if so be that you come; and if you do not come I promise you on your lives that with God's help we will enter into all the towns which belong to this holy realm, and will make a firm peace, come what may. To God I commend you. God have you in his keeping, if such be his pleasure. Answer shortly."[4]

These letters reached Troyes, as it seems, early on the morning of July 5, and at once copies of them were

[1] P. iv. 286, 287.

[2] On July 4 Charles VII. wrote to Rheims from Brinon l'Archevêque. Jadart, *J. à Reims*, 84. Joan wrote to Troyes from St. Fale, Tuesday, July 4. P. iv. 288 (July 4 was Monday). Probably July 5 is the true date, as St. Fale is about fifteen miles nearer Troyes than Brinon.

[3] Contrary to custom, Joan here calls Charles, King of France. This may have been a slip of the scribe; or the close connection of the clause with the name of Rheims may have led her, perhaps unconsciously, to anticipate the coronation by a few days.

[4] P. iv. 287.

sent on to Rheims, with assurances that Troyes would hold out to the death. Its people begged the men of Rheims to have pity on them, and to send to Bedford and to Burgundy for help. At about nine o'clock in the morning the advance-guard of the royal army appeared, and formally summoned Troyes to surrender. This the town council refused to do, pleading by way of excuse an oath taken to the duke of Burgundy. During the afternoon, before the investment of the city was accomplished, the councilors smuggled away another messenger with another letter to the men of Rheims, again asserting that they would resist to the death. This letter said that Joan was a fool full of the Devil, whose letter had neither rhyme nor reason, and had been thrown into the fire after being heartily laughed at. Again the men of Rheims were warned that some of their own people were traitors, and that they must be on their guard.[1] We shall see later what action was taken by the men of Rheims in consequence of this letter and of the rest of the correspondence. July 5, 1429.

For several days the royal army was encamped about Troyes in the hope that the city would surrender. There was some parleying and an occasional skirmish, but nothing of importance, and the burghers doubtless expected the terms granted to Auxerre. Toward the end of the week the supplies of the besiegers ran low. All realized that it was impossible to stay where they were much longer, and a council of war was held, attended by civilians as well as by the captains, but not by Joan. The archbishop of Rheims, chancellor of France, a creature of La Trémoille, spoke of the want of food and money, artillery and men, of the strength of Troyes, and of the obstinacy of its inhabitants. Gien, the base of supplies, was thirty leagues away, and the army was in peril. When he had finished, he called July 5–8, 1429.

[1] P. iv. 289 et seq.

upon the councilors, one after another, for their opinion. Nearly all were against continuing the siege, arguing that Troyes was stronger than Auxerre, which they had not been able to take; some were for going home, others for passing by the place and struggling on toward Rheims, with hostile fortresses in their rear. When it came to the turn of Robert le Maçon, formerly councilor of Charles VI. and once chancellor himself,[1] he said that the march had been undertaken, in reliance neither upon the number of their troops nor upon the richness of the treasury, but because Joan the Maid advised them that such was the will of God. He suggested, therefore, that she should be called to the council. When she came in, the archbishop told her the substance of the debate, whereupon she turned to the king, and asked if she should be believed. He answered that this depended upon her words. "Good Dauphin," she said, "command your people to advance and besiege Troyes, and do not delay longer over your councils; for in God's name, before three days I will bring you into Troyes, by favor or force or valor, and false Burgundy shall be greatly amazed." The archbishop said they would wait six days for such a result, but doubted if it could be accomplished; whereat she told him not to doubt. Thereupon the council broke up.[2]

"Immediately," says the Bastard, "she crossed the river with the royal army, pitched tents close to the walls, and labored with a diligence that not two or three most experienced and renowned captains could have shown. She worked so hard through the night that on the morrow the bishop and citizens submitted in fear and trembling. Afterwards it was found out that from the time when she advised the king not to withdraw from be-

[1] See Beaucourt, i. 64.

[2] P. iii. 13, Bastard; 117, S. Charles; iv. 72, J. Chartier; 181, *Journ. Siège.*

fore the city, the citizens lost heart, and had no wish but to escape and flee to the churches."[1] In fact, it needed but a show of resolution to destroy once for all the fictitious devotion of Troyes to the fortunes of England and Burgundy. The garrison was small; outside of it there was no real opposition to Charles, and the bishop seems to have favored him strongly. A deputation was sent to the king to treat for terms of peace. It was agreed that the soldiers should be allowed to retire with their property; that the churchmen appointed to preferment under King Henry should all be confirmed by King Charles; that no garrison should be left in the town, no new taxes imposed; that the municipal franchises should be respected, and amnesty granted to all.[2] July 9, 1429.

At this time there was in the city of Troyes one Friar Richard, a Franciscan, who had made much stir throughout northeastern France. During Advent he had preached in Champagne, and two or three months later had gone to Paris, where thousands of people slept on the ground over night that they might get good places to hear him the next day. He preached that Antichrist, foretold by Scripture, was already born, and he so wrought upon his hearers that in Paris more than one hundred bonfires might be seen, in which the men burnt their cards and gaming-tables, the women their head-dresses and pads and gewgaws; indeed, the ten sermons which he delivered turned more people to devotion than all the sermoners who had been in Paris for a hundred years.[3] After a few weeks he was forced to leave the city, because either his theology or his politics was

[1] P. iii. 13, 14, Bastard.

[2] *Recueil des Ordonnances*, xiii. 142. See P. iv. 183, *Journ. Siège*; v. 352.

[3] Such revivals were not uncommon. In 1428 a Carmelite friar had great success in northern France. Four years later he was burnt at Rome as a heretic. Monstrelet, Bk. II. chaps. liii., cxxvii.

suspected, and he had found his way back to Troyes, where he enjoyed a great reputation. This man, honest, fervid, emotional, living in the belief that God and Antichrist were shortly to join battle on the earth, went out of Troyes while the negotiations were going on, urged by the citizens or by his own curiosity to discover what sort of a creature this Maid might be who called herself the messenger of God.[1]

With all his zeal, Friar Richard was not the man to neglect reasonable precautions. Only a few days before the men of Troyes had called Joan the devil's fool, or a "lyme of the Feende," as the English put it.[2] When the friar caught sight of her, accordingly, he began to cross himself vigorously, and to sprinkle holy water. Joan's sense of the ridiculous was keen, and she told him to come on boldly, for she had no intention of flying away from him. They had some conversation together, and the good man was so completely converted that he rushed back into Troyes and loudly declared that she was a holy maid sent by God, who could, if she wished, cause the French men at arms to enter Troyes by flying over the walls. He joined himself to the royal expedition and followed Joan until, as we shall see, his love of the marvelous was tickled by a new-comer. When the Burgundians of Paris heard of his apostasy, with delightful logic they cursed God and the saints, took to gaming again, and threw into the Seine the medals he had distributed with the monogram of Jesus stamped on them.[3]

On Sunday, July 10, Charles entered Troyes, and was

[1] See Luce, ccxlv., clxxviii., ccxxvii.; Chapotin, *J. et les Dominicains; Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429. T. Basin, ed. Quicherat, iv. 103; *Rev. Bleue*, t. xlix. 201; P. i. 99, 102, J.'s test.; *Livre des Trahisons*, in *Chron. Belg. inéd.*, ii. 197.

[2] See P. v. 136.

[3] P. i. 100, J.'s test.; *Rel. inéd.*, 33; *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429.

royally received. As the old garrison marched away, the soldiers undertook to carry with them their prisoners, alleging that these were part of the property guaranteed by the capitulation. Joan saw the wretched men driven along; she was indignant that her countrymen should be carried into captivity before the eyes of her victorious army, and she refused to allow it. The terms of the treaty, as understood at the time, seem to have justified the garrison, however, and the king was compelled to pay the captors a reasonable ransom.[1] July 10, 1429.

With the fall of Troyes, all opposition to Charles in Champagne collapsed. The men of Troyes wrote at once to Rheims, explaining their change of front as best they might, and calling Charles the prince of the greatest wisdom, understanding, and valor ever born to the noble house of France. On the day following its entry into Troyes, the army marched on Châlons, which within a week had declared its intention of resisting the royalists with all its might. It now eagerly opened its gates, and in a letter to Rheims, described the sweet, gracious, pitiful, and compassionate person of Charles, his noble demeanor and high understanding, and counseled the men of Rheims to send their representatives to meet him without delay.[2] July 10–16, 1429.

It was not in the nature of the men of Rheims to withstand this reasoning and eloquence. Less than a fortnight before, they had professed devotion to their Anglo-Burgundian rulers, and had informed them of all that went on. A little later, they had ordered a religious procession for the ambiguous purpose of moving the people to peace, love, and obedience. They had gone so far as to summon in haste to Rheims the captain of the city, who was then absent, but they had requested him to

[1] P. iv. 76, J. Chartier; 184, *Chron. Puc.;* 252, *Journ. Siège;* 285, 296; v. 63, Martial d'Auvergne; 130; Jadart, 85.

[2] P. iv. 18, Cagny; 298.

limit his escort to forty or fifty horsemen. This the captain declined to do, lest he should be made a prisoner. Assembling a considerable force, he proposed to defend the city until the duke of Burgundy should get together an army for its relief, but, after some parleying, the men of Rheims declined to admit this force within their walls. They continued, however, to listen to letters from the captain and from others, who promised help; they made light of the surrender of Troyes, and ridiculed Joan, saying that she could not bear comparison with a well-known female fool of the duke's. When Charles actually reached Châlons, Rheims hesitated no longer. Some of the principal men of the town went to meet him at the castle of Sept Saux, about fifteen miles distant, and there received full and general pardon for all past offenses.[1]

The chancellor entered his archiepiscopal city on Saturday morning; after dinner the king and Joan rode in with many councilors and captains. The burghers crowded the streets and gave them a hearty welcome, showing, as was natural, great curiosity to see Joan.[2]

Throughout the march she had ridden armed like the other captains, sometimes with the king, sometimes in the van, sometimes covering the rear, always ready for sudden alarm or for her turn at mounting guard. She did not command the army, indeed, but at the critical moment of the campaign it was her advice that brought about the surrender of Troyes, and the demonstration against the city was made under her direction. She had the habit, about dusk, when the army was encamped for the night, of going into some church to pray. The bells were rung, the friars who followed the army gathered there, and she caused them to sing a hymn to the Virgin.[3]

[1] P. iv. 292 et seq.; Jadart, 116. See iv. 184, *Journ. Siège;* 378, Monstrelet; Luce, clxxiii. For the condition of Rheims, see Varin, *Arch. Leg. Reims, Stat.* t. i. 529, 547, 738 et seq.

[2] P. iv. 19, Cagny; 185, *Journ. Siège.*

[3] P. iii. 14, Bastard; see v. 13, Christine de Pisan; iv. 70, J. Char-

When it was possible, she slept with women, — with girls of her own age, if they could be found; otherwise she kept on her armor.[1] If she was asked, she would stand godmother for some little baby about to be baptized.[2] She always tried to make the soldiers lead respectable lives, but apparently without universal success, for when she was in the neighborhood of Auxerre, she broke the old sword she had received from Fierbois across the back of some loose women who followed the troops. The superstitious king, whose own loose character she was too loyal to suspect, was much irritated, and told her that she ought to use a stick instead.[3] At Châlons she met some old acquaintances, and at Rheims she found her

tier. The account given in this and in the preceding chapters is believed to describe the position Joan held in the French army with as much accuracy as is possible in a matter of the sort. The position was one not known to military treatises and it cannot be precisely defined in military terms. It was quite supplementary to any conceivable military organization. Probably Joan had not the right of military command over any one outside of her own military household, perhaps half a dozen men in all. At the same time she assumed, and was allowed and intended to assume in certain emergencies, to command every one whom she could reach by her voice, and her advice was sometimes taken and followed, even when opposed to the conclusions previously reached by the commanding general or by a council of war. She probably attributed to herself a military rank somewhat more definite than that she really possessed. This her belief in her divine mission would naturally lead her to do. After making every possible allowance for exaggeration, and for the prejudice in her favor which existed at the time of her second trial, however, it is impossible to doubt that her common sense, courage, and vigor, as well as her claim of inspiration, gave her companions in arms great respect for her advice. (See p. iii. 100, Alençon; 116, Simon Charles; 119, Thib. d'Armagnac.) To discuss her theoretical rank in the army would lead to no important conclusion; her actual position and influence must be gathered from what she actually accomplished.

[1] P. iii. 70, Coutes; 81, Beaucroix.

[2] P. i. 103, J.'s test.

[3] P. iii. 73, Coutes; 81, Beaucroix; 99, Alençon; see iv. 71, 93.

cousin Laxart and her father, who had come to see her triumph. The men of Rheims paid his expenses at the hotel of the Zebra, and gave him a horse to ride back to Domremy.[1] What passed between him and Joan is not known; at this time, perhaps, she asked and obtained his pardon for leaving her home so suddenly. It is certain that she did not forget her people. A few days later, in her favor and at her request, "considering the great, high, notable, and profitable service which she has rendered and daily renders us in the recovery of our kingdom," Charles forever exempted the people of Domremy and Greux from all taxes. For centuries the privilege lasted, and against the names of the two villages in the taxgatherer's book was written, "Nothing, for the sake of the Maid."[2]

[1] P. ii. 445, Laxart; iii. 198, Lemaistre; v. 141, 266, 267.

[2] P. v. 137; Lepage, *J. est-elle Lorraine?* 2d dissert. 361. The question of the exemption of Domremy from taxation is complicated with that of the political geography of the village, discussed in chapter ii. The grant of exemption published by M. Quicherat is copied from a vidimus of 1483, formerly preserved in the archives of Greux, but which has now disappeared. M. Quicherat mentions a confirmation of Louis XV., dated 1723, which sets forth an ordinance of 1656 and a decree of 1682. M. Lepage publishes a document of 1584, in which is mentioned the grant of 1429, and to which are added extracts from the taxgatherer's register in 1481 and 1572–74. In these last is to be found the entry noted in the text, "Néant, à la Pucelle." All this evidence makes it reasonably clear that the grant is genuine, even though it may not have had full effect in the whole village of Domremy, owing to the situation of the village in the duchy of Bar. Several theories are possible. First: The exemption may have covered all taxes laid by the royal authority, and may have been more complete in Greux, and less complete in Domremy. Second: The royal officers may not have known what was the precise political relation of the village, and may have inserted its name in the grant without considering what the effect of the grant would be. Third: The exemption may have been intended to affect only that part of the village which lay north of the Three Fountains Brook, and which was, therefore, contained in the royal domain.

CHAPTER XII.

MONTÉPILLOY.

THROUGHOUT Saturday night and Sunday morning the royal officers labored in preparing for Charles's consecration, and they were so diligent that everything was made ready "as if it had been ordered a year beforehand."[1] The ampulla, or vessel holding the sacred oil, carried by a dove to St. Remy at the baptism of Clovis, was brought from St. Remy's abbey according to custom. Escorted by four of the king's captains armed and mounted, the abbot rode his hackney through the great west door of the cathedral up to the entrance of the choir, where he dismounted and gave the precious relic to the archbishop.[2] The elaborate ceremony of consecration was duly performed. Of the six spiritual peers of France, two, the archbishop of Rheims and the bishop of Châlons, were actually present; the places of the rest were taken by the Scotch bishop of Orleans, John Kirkmichael, and by other bishops of the king's suite. The duke of Burgundy was the only temporal peer of France in existence; he was duly called by the king at arms standing before the high altar, and when he did not answer, his place was taken by the duke of Alençon, who knighted the king. The other temporal peers, the imaginary dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy, and counts of Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne, were represented by La Trémoille, young Guy of Laval, and other noblemen.

July 17, 1429.

[1] P. iv. 19, Cagny; v. 128.

[2] P. iv. 185, *Journ. Siège;* 513, Æneas Sylvius; v. 129. See Leber, *Cerémonies du sacre*, 332.

René of Bar, Charles's brother-in-law, attended the ceremony, though only four months earlier he had been forced to acknowledge Henry VI.[1] He was accompanied by Robert of Commercy, the freebooting lord to whom the men of Domremy used to pay blackmail.[2] The king's wonderful success had already gained him a host of supporters.

Close to Charles throughout the ceremony stood Joan, holding her banner in her hand; "and it was a fine thing to see her fair bearing," wrote one of the spectators.[3] When the ceremony was over, according to one story, she burst into tears, and, kneeling at Charles's feet, said to him, "Gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, who desired me to raise the siege of Orleans and to lead you to this city of Rheims for your consecration, showing that you are the true king, and the man to whom the kingdom of France belongs." [4]

Whether Joan said precisely this or not cannot be known, but something of the kind she undoubtedly thought, and probably said, being usually outspoken. From such a speech as this, from the natural tendency of popular opinion after she had been taken and killed, perhaps from some later saying of hers in a time of defeat and discouragement, grew the legend that she believed her mission to have ended at Rheims.[5] According to this

[1] The homage was rendered May 5, during the fighting before Orleans, of which the news had not yet reached Lorraine. On August 3 René made a formal disavowal. Lecoy, *René*, ii. 217.

[2] P. iv. 77, J. Chartier; 185, *Journ. Siège;* 380, Monstrelet. He was one of three knights made by Charles in the church. P. iv. 381.

[3] P. v. 129.

[4] P. iv. 185, *Journ. Siège.*

[5] Compare the account of her answer to the archbishop, as given by the Bastard, who was an eye-witness, with that given in the *Journ. Siège.* P. iii. 14; iv. 188. The latter account, while correcting the Bastard's blunder about Joan's sister, makes Joan say that her mission ended at Rheims, a statement of which the Bastard knew nothing.

legend, she asked Charles's leave to go back to Domremy, and remained with him only against her better judgment and against the command of her voices. This legend is quite unhistorical. After the consecration, she was as eager as ever she had been to press forward against the English and to drive them from France. Her letters, one written that very day, another written two or three weeks later, show this plainly, and are full of her old confidence in God's help and in herself as his messenger. Moreover, it would have been utterly impossible for Joan to disobey her voices in the manner supposed. Hers was not a vision which appeared only to bid her do this or that, and then left her when she had set out to do as she was bid. She communed with her voices daily, and in all matters of doubt she appealed to them. Twice only,[1] so far as is known, did she ever disobey them, and, as we shall see hereafter, the reasons and the manner of that disobedience make plain how completely in all other matters she followed their commands.

There is, indeed, an historical basis for the legend just mentioned. Though Joan appealed to her voices in time of doubt, she did not always get from them concrete advice, but often only comfort and encouragement. They had bidden her go to Vaucouleurs and to Chinon, they had bidden her raise the siege of Orleans and conduct Charles to Rheims. Thereafter their commands became more general; she was called to drive the English from France, but seldom, if ever, was any city marked for her attack, or any expedition particularly directed. The failure of her later attempts naturally made the people about her notice the difference between the earlier and the later commands which she professed to receive. This difference she may have noticed herself, but the change in the temper of her mind was chiefly caused by her dis-

[1] In leaping from the tower at Beaurevoir, and in recanting at St. Ouen.

covery that the will of God, though clearly expressed, may sometimes be set at naught by the will of man. Her companions, on the other hand, naturally unwilling to apply this truth, began to say that though she often joked about one exploit or another, she never spoke seriously of any particular mission after the relief of Orleans and the expedition to Rheims.[1] This change of feeling, however, came about long afterwards. In Rheims she was at the very height of her reputation, and, if that were possible, surer than ever that the English would be driven from France.[2]

There seemed good reason for her belief. Not only did great noblemen like René of Bar, and plundering swash-bucklers like Robert of Commercy, hasten to join Charles, but the cities throughout northern France were eager to acknowledge him. Four days after his consecration, messengers brought to him the keys of Laon, a city of great strength and importance, close to the territory of the duke of Burgundy; and many other places were ready to follow the example thus set them. To the French no exploit seemed too difficult; men talked of marching to the English Channel and to Calais, as if it were a day's excursion.[3]

To success like this the duke of Burgundy seemed the only obstacle, and what the duke of Burgundy would do, no man could tell. While Charles was before Troyes, he had entered Paris. Standing in a great assembly of the people, with the regent Bedford at his side, he caused to be rehearsed the story of his father's murder, of which

[1] See P. iii. 16, Bastard.

[2] See *Rev. Hist.*, t. xix. 66.

[3] See P. iv. 20, Cagny; 187, *Journ. Siège;* 381, 391, Monstrelet; letter of J. de Bourbon already cited. The coronation was reported at Paris on July 19. P. iv. 453. See, also, P. v. 352, for a letter written about this time by the town clerk of Metz, and Beaucourt, ii. 234, n., citing Jean Juvénal and the *Chronique de Tournai.*

he made another solemn complaint, afterwards compelling all the citizens to swear fealty to himself and to Bedford. As the French entered Rheims, he left Paris and sent an embassy to Charles almost before the oaths of his Parisian adherents had been registered. This embassy had not returned when, in consequence of another interview with the English, and urged by his sister, Bedford's wife, he sent a considerable force to Bedford's assistance, at the same time making a truce with Charles. Many of his councilors, perhaps most of them, really wished for peace, but there was an active minority opposed to it, and the duke himself seems to have played a part as weak and contemptible as that of his royal cousin. We shall see how the skillful diplomacy of Bedford made Philip's vacillation constantly serve the English purpose, and how the regent triumphed over the feeble councilors of Charles at every turn.[1]

Joan's common sense showed her the need of Philip's assistance, and her patriotism made her wish that every Frenchman should help in saving France. On the very day of the coronation she wrote this letter: —

"High and mighty prince, duke of Burgundy, I, Joan the Maid, in the name of the King of Heaven, my rightful and sovereign Lord, bid you and the king of France make a good, firm peace, which shall endure. Do each of you pardon the other, heartily and wholly, as loyal Christians should, and, if you like to fight, go against the Saracens. Prince of Burgundy, I pray and beseech and beg you as humbly as I may, that you war no more on the holy kingdom of France, but at once cause your people who are in any places and fortresses of this holy kingdom to withdraw; and as for the gentle king of France,

[1] Philip came to Paris April 4, and left it April 8; returned July 10, and went away again July 16. See *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429. See, also, Monstrelet, Bk. II. chaps. lxii., lxvii., lxix.; Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 104.

he is ready to make peace with you if you are willing, saving his honor; and I bid you know, in the name of the King of Heaven, my rightful and sovereign Lord, for your well-being and your honor and on your life, that you will never gain a battle against loyal Frenchmen; and that all who war in the holy kingdom of France war against King Jesus, King of Heaven and all the earth, my rightful and sovereign Lord. With folded hands I pray and beg you to fight no battle and wage no war against us, neither you, your soldiers, nor your people, for whatever number of soldiers you bring against us, know of a surety that they shall gain nothing, but it will be a great pity to see the great battle and the blood which will flow from those who come there against us. Three weeks ago I wrote and sent you good letters by a herald, bidding you to the king's consecration, which takes place to-day, Sunday, the seventeenth of this present month of July, in the city of Rheims, but I have had no answer, and have heard no news of the herald. To God I commend you, and may He keep you, if it please Him, and I pray God to bring about a good peace."[1]

No letter is more characteristic of Joan than this. Her belief in her mission, her wish to persuade every one of it by reason rather than by arms, her broad patriotism and want of party feeling, her perfect assurance of success, all clearly appear. So far as is known, Philip made no answer, but the story went that he was very desirous of seeing Joan, and this was probably true.[2]

The consecration was hardly over when his ambassadors reached Rheims. Just what terms they proposed is uncertain; it is probable that they suggested immediate but partial and temporary truces, with a general peace in the indefinite future, and that they tried to delay and to check the royal advance. For the moment the enthusiasm was too great for them. On

July 17–August 2, 1429.

[1] P. v. 126. [2] See letter of J. de Bourbon, already cited.

Thursday, July 21, Charles rode to the abbey of St. Marcoul, where, according to custom, he touched for the King's Evil.[1] On Friday he went on to Vailly, and having received the keys of Soissons, he entered that city on Saturday, July 23. Everywhere he was welcomed with great joy.[2]

He was now only about sixty miles from Paris, which should have been the object of his operations. Bedford had left the city for a few days; it had but a small garrison, and many of its citizens sympathized with Charles. A vigorous advance might have ended the war, but the royal council was hopelessly divided and the ambassadors of Burgundy were active. Charles halted at Soissons four or five days, and received the submission of many neighboring towns, but he did nothing else. When at length, about July 28, the army set out again on its march, it did not take the direct road to Paris, but went almost due south to Château Thierry,[3] keeping about the same distance from the capital. After two days spent at Château Thierry, it proceeded to Provins, which was reached on August 2. This town is about sixty miles south of Soissons, and about fifty miles southeast of Paris. In ten days Charles had made but three marches and was only ten miles nearer his objective. Practically nothing had been accomplished.[4]

It is impossible to discover the precise cause of each of

[1] See Vallet de Viriville, *Charles VII.*, ii. 136, n. Joan is said to have ridden before the king in a full suit of plain armor, with banner displayed. When she was without her armor, she had the state and dress of a knight, — laced shoes, trunks, a short coat, and small hat. She wore rich suits of cloth of gold and silk, well furred.

[2] P. iv. 20 Cagny; 78, J. Chartier.

[3] The garrison of Château Thierry was allowed to join Bedford in Paris. P. iv. 381, Monstrelet.

[4] See *Journ. Bourg.*, Ann. 1429; P. iv. 453, Fauquemberque; 20, 21, Cagny; 78, J. Chartier.

these extraordinary manœuvres, but what was the general condition of affairs is quite evident. A truce had been made with Burgundy, the exact terms of which are unknown, but which was to last for a fortnight.[1] It may have covered some of the places between Soissons and Paris, one of which at this time was intrusted by Bedford to a devoted follower of Philip.[2] Again, many of Charles's counselors were tired of the expedition and anxious to get back to a place of safety; some of these may have believed that the best policy was to humor Philip, some may have been bought, some may have been moved by personal dislike of Joan or of Alençon. With this division of opinion, it is no wonder that the march of the royal army was slow and erratic.

In her simplicity, Joan herself but half understood how things were going. Perhaps she was deceived about the position of Paris, as she had been deceived about that of Orleans three months before. Apparently she was told that the truce with Burgundy would bring to pass the surrender of Paris within a fortnight, though she hardly believed the story. "With truces so made I am not content," she wrote to the men of Rheims, "and I do not know if I will keep them; if I do, it will be only to save the king's honor."[3] She did not realize how little the council regarded either her wishes or the good of France.

At length, by the utmost effort, the duke of Bedford had gathered an army. On July 25 he entered Paris with a force brought from England by his uncle, the cardinal of Winchester, and raised, it was said, to fight the Hussite heretics of Bohemia.[4] After passing a few

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 404.

[2] Meaux was given to the Bastard of St. Pol. Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxii.

[3] P. v. 140.

[4] P. iv. 81, J. Chartier; 453, Fauquemberque; Beaurepaire, *Admin. de Normandie*, 61. According to a Burgundian chronicler, some

days in the capital, and thus assuring himself of the fidelity of its magistrates, he marched against Charles. He did not wish especially for battle, but felt the need of showing a bold front to his enemies, lest his French subjects should believe he had lost heart altogether.[1]

Meantime, at Provins, there was quarreling and confusion in the royal council. After a short stay in the place, the party of peace got the upper hand, and orders were issued to cross the Seine at Bray and retreat to the Loire. Some arrangement had been reached for a conference with Philip. Bedford was advancing, and it was thought best to trust to diplomacy rather than to risk a battle. During the night, however, an Anglo-Burgundian force seized Bray and held it so strongly that a battle was needed to force the passage of the Seine. Thereupon Alençon, Laval, and the party of war took heart, and on that very day the army turned again and marched on Paris.[2] Aug. 2–7, 1429.

Though the disgraceful cowardice and folly of La Trémoille and his followers were thus defeated by the superserviceable zeal of some Anglo-Burgundian captain, all these marchings and counter-marchings and the hopeless indecision of the royal council were ruining the spirit of the army. The country people were still wild with delight at the coming of the king, and crowded to meet him as he passed by. Joan was riding between the Bastard and the archbishop of Rheims. "What good people they are," she said. "I never saw any other people who rejoiced so much over the coming of so noble a king. I

of Bedford's English soldiers carried a banner on which were blazoned a distaff and spindle, with hanks of yarn, and the motto, "Come on, my pretty girl." *Livre des Trahisons*, 198.

[1] According to one account, Bedford left Paris August 3. *Rev. Hist.*, t. xix. 75.

[2] P. iv. 79, J. Chartier; 188, *Journ. Siège.* See Gilles de Roye, in *Chron. Belg. inéd.*, i. 207; Jadart, *J. à Reims*, 118; Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 101; *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429.

would that when I die I were so happy as to be buried in this place." "Joan, when do you expect to die?" asked the archbishop, who had no great belief in her mission, but was curious to hear what she would say. "When it shall please God," she answered, "for I know no more of the time and the place than you do. Would that it pleased God my creator to let me depart at this time and lay down my arms, and go to serve my father and mother in keeping their sheep with my brothers, for they would be very glad to see me."[1] Even on Joan herself the indecision and the delay was beginning to tell, though she kept as brave a face as she could.

The wanderings of Charles seem to have puzzled Bedford, who on August 7 found himself at Montereau, rather farther from Paris than was the king. On that day he published a manifesto in the form of a letter to Charles. It was constructed with some skill: Charles was charged with receiving the help of a loose and disorderly woman wearing men's clothes, and of an apostate and seditious friar, "both, according to Holy Scripture, things abominable to God." The letter begged the king to have pity on the poor people, and suggested a meeting at some place near by, to which Charles might come, with the disorderly woman and the apostate friar aforesaid, and all the perjured rascals of his train. There Bedford would discuss terms of peace, an unfeigned peace, not like that which Charles once made at this very Montereau, just before he foully murdered the duke of Burgundy. The letter closed by challenging Charles to single combat, and with an appeal to the Almighty.[2] Having dispatched this missive, Bedford hastened to interpose himself between the French army and Paris, taking care that the city's gates should be closed and guarded.[3]

[1] P. iii. 14, Bastard. [2] Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxv.

[3] See *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429; P. iv. 21, Cagny; 46, Berri.

On August 11 Bedford's letter was received by Charles at Crépy-en-Valois, about thirty-five miles north-east of Paris.[1] An embassy, made up from the party of peace, had just been sent to Philip at Arras, and so the party of action was in control of the expedition. On August 12 and 13 the army marched slowly on Paris, coming within twenty miles of the capital. Bedford was nearer still, and was manœuvring to get into a strong position, not intending to attack the French. On Sunday, August 14, the two armies came face to face at Montépilloy, not far from Senlis. It was near evening, and after a skirmish they both encamped for the night. The next morning the French reconnoitred Bedford's position, and found it very strong. A lake and a stream were in his rear, which might have proved his ruin had he been defeated, but which prevented an attack from that direction. During the night he had carefully covered his flanks and his front with earthworks and with stout stakes, which the English archers used to carry, and which were thrust deep into the ground to break the charge of cavalry. His main body was English, his right wing composed of Picards sent to him by Philip of Burgundy. Above his host floated the banners of England and France.

Aug. 11–14, 1429.

Aug. 15, 1429.

The French army was formed in four divisions, the advance-guard, commanded by Alençon; the centre, commanded by René of Bar; the rear, with which were La Trémoille and Charles himself; and a large body of skirmishers under Joan, the Bastard, and La Hire. Although the French were more numerous than the English, Bedford's position was so strongly covered that a direct attack seemed too dangerous, and the French attempted to draw the English out into the open country. Their army advanced until it was but two bowshots from Bedford's front, and then he was solemnly defied. He had no

[1] P. iv. 46, Berri.

intention of leaving his position, however, and stood firm. Both on foot and on horseback, the French knights came right up to the English works, and so taunted and harassed their defenders that some of these rushed out. Thereupon the French fell back, and being pursued, returned to the attack in such force that more of the English were drawn out to the rescue of their outnumbered countrymen. Through the long, hot, and dusty day these skirmishes went on with varying fortune and considerable loss to both sides, for men's passions were roused, and no quarter was given. The English discipline was good enough to prevent a general sortie, and the French accomplished nothing.

In the afternoon they brought up two field-pieces, weapons hardly yet in common use, and placed them so as to enfilade the English line. These caused some loss to the English, and there was considerable danger that their army would be thrown into disorder, but Bedford's word and example held his troops steady, until a party of his Picard horsemen fell suddenly upon the feebly supported battery and captured it. Later still, the French skirmishers retreated upon the main body, and Bedford was notified that he might come out and set his army in battle order without being disturbed, an invitation which he declined. As it grew dusk, the French retired to their quarters, and the king, who seemed easily satisfied in the matter of fighting, went to Crépy.[1]

Early Tuesday morning the French retreated farther, hoping that Bedford would follow them. Some of his captains were for doing so, but the regent had accomplished his object. As soon as he was clear of the French he retreated to Senlis, and from there to Paris, having faced without disaster a superior French

Aug. 16–28, 1429.

[1] See P. iv. 21, Cagny; 81, J. Chartier; 193, *Journ. Siège;* 387, Monstrelet; 434, Wavrin; Cochon, *Chron. Normande,* 301; *Livre des Trahisons,* 198; Luce, 341.

force, having encouraged his own troops, and shaken the popular faith in Joan. About noon the French captains learned what he had done. It is quite plain that they should have followed him up with vigor, and that his retreating army, shut in between Paris and a superior force of the enemy, would have been in peril; but the spirit which had triumphed at Patay was pretty much gone. A detachment was sent to occupy Senlis, the rest of the army joined Charles at Crépy, and on Thursday, August 18, proceeded to Compiègne, fifty miles from Paris. Its inhabitants had sent its keys to the king, and the place was nearer Arras, where Philip of Burgundy held his court.[1]

Several days were spent in Compiègne, greatly to the distress of Joan, who knew the importance of rapid movements, and saw the troops becoming further perplexed and dispirited. On August 23, with Alençon and a considerable force, she left Compiègne for Senlis.[2] On the 25th they took St. Denis, and thus established themselves at the very gates of Paris,[3] but they could not persuade the king to follow them, and they left the party of peace in full control of the council. Shortly after his return from Montépilloy, Bedford had gone back with most of his soldiers to Normandy, where his power was threatened by revolt within and by attack from without.[4] His agents in Paris were active in strengthening the fortifications, and in taking fresh oaths of the people, but it is probable that his chief reliance was on the duke of Burgundy and the duke's negotiations.

[1] P. iv. 23, Cagny.

[2] For the terms of the capitulation of Senlis, see Bernier, *Monumens inédits de l'hist. de France*, 18.

[3] P. iv. 24, Cagny; *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429; Cochon, *Chron. Normande*, 302.

[4] See Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 111.

This reliance was not in vain. At Arras there had been much talk among Charles's ambassadors, the duke of Burgundy and his council, and the ambassadors of the duke of Savoy, who was honestly trying to play the peace-maker. Not much was accomplished, but Philip agreed to send envoys to Charles at Compiègne, in the mean time accepting from Bedford the office of governor of Paris.[1] The negotiations were resumed at Compiègne, accordingly, just as Joan left the place, and after some dickering the party of peace triumphed decisively by securing a general truce, which was signed on August 28. It covered all the country north of the Seine from Nogent, sixty miles above Paris, to the sea, except the cities and fortresses on the river at which it could be crossed. Why the exception was made does not clearly appear; perhaps because Charles, in returning to the Loire, must cross the Seine at some one of these places; perhaps because the party of peace did not dare openly to give up all hope of taking Paris, which city the treaty expressly permitted Philip to relieve. Between the duke and Charles the truce was to begin at once, and was to last until Christmas. The English, if they wished, might have the benefit of it at any time. During its continuance Charles might not receive the submission of a city, however much it should wish to acknowledge him. The delusive hope of a peace with Burgundy seems to have taken possession of some of the king's advisers who were not mere creatures of La Trémoille, and it is probable that a real majority of the council favored the truce, though Alençon and others were bitterly opposed to it.[2]

[1] See Beaucourt, ii. 408, 413; *Rev. Historique*, t. xix. 79.

[2] See Plancher, *Hist. Bourgogne*, iv., lxxviii. et seq.; Quicherat, *Nouveaux documents sur Charles VII. et J.*; Beaucourt, ii. 410, n.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ATTACK ON PARIS.

THE truce should have ended the campaign, for by it Charles had effectually prevented himself from carrying on a successful war. An attacking army can do little when it allows its enemies to choose its point of attack and to limit its field of operations. Before deciding, however, that the truce was certainly disadvantageous to the French, we must consider what would have been their chance of success if they had pushed the war with vigor, and what chance of a lasting peace with Philip they gained by granting him an armistice. Aug. 28, 1429.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the moral effect of Joan's campaigns about Orleans and of her march to Rheims. All Europe was filled with wonder. Foreign princes were eager to have particular news of her. Collects praying for her were used in remote parts of France. All the way from Spain came letters asking her to decide which of the three claimants to the papacy had the rightful title.[1] After the fall of Troyes, all places except Paris had been eager to recognize Charles. Even after his erratic march had been checked at Montépilloy, while the king was at Compiègne, town after town had acknowledged him and some great nobles had joined him; Beauvais had driven out Cauchon, its bishop count, a violent Anglo-Burgundian,[2] and Philip was quite justified in seeking a truce and in trying at all hazards to prevent such desertions for the future. "In truth," says a Bur-

[1] See P. v. 98, 104, 114, 131, 270, 347, 353.

[2] P. iv. 85, J. Chartier; 190, *Journ. Siège.*

gundian chronicler, "if he [Charles] had come with all his force to St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, Abbeville, and many other strong towns and strong castles, the larger part of the people were ready to receive him as their lord, and desired nothing in the world but to obey him and to open their gates."[1] The entreaties made to him by the men of Rheims, when they heard that he thought of returning to the Loire, were piteous. Let him be steadfast with diligence, said they, for his sake and his kingdom's; let him defend them from Burgundy and his followers, who are very strong and already boast what they will do.[2]

It must be borne in mind, also, that Bedford's hold on Normandy was much disturbed. Several French captains carried on there a guerrilla warfare, having the sympathy of some of the people. Two or three places had been actually taken, and plots were made to deliver Rouen.[3] Had Charles availed himself of the influence of Joan, the splendid confidence of his own soldiers, and the loyalty of the country people, at the same time offering to Philip reasonable terms of immediate peace, it is likely that the English power in northern France would have disappeared in 1429 as quickly as it did twenty years later.

If the truce and the abandonment of his campaign had assured to Charles a reasonable peace with the duke of Burgundy, then, in spite of all drawbacks, much good would have been accomplished; but peace was highly improbable. Several of Philip's councilors wished a peace of some sort sincerely enough, though the terms they asked would have dismembered the French monarchy, but Bedford's supporters opposed any peace whatsoever, and on the whole their influence prevailed. At

[1] P. iv. 391, Monstrelet. See *Rev. Hist.* t. xix. 74.

[2] Jadart, *J. à Reims*, 118.

[3] *Chron. Puc.*, ed. Vallet de Viriville, 339; Cochon, *Chron. Normande*, 302; Chéruel, *Hist. de Rouen*, 84.

about this time there was laid before Philip's council a memorandum urging that the English alliance should be maintained in order to escape from the wickedness and malice of the French. The memorandum suggested that the duke of Brittany should be bought by the county of Poitou, the constable by La Trémoille's property and other estates, so that the Dauphin (as he was styled) might be driven into Languedoc. It is not known if this memorandum was approved by the council, but the councilor who prepared it was Philip's trusted agent, and was soon sent to represent his master at the coronation of Henry VI. in England.[1] There is a satisfaction in knowing that it was proposed to betray the favorite to the constable. As has been observed, La Trémoille's position was very precarious, and he kept his power only so long as everybody else was at odds.

When the same councilor, Lannoy, was in England, he caused another memorandum to be prepared and presented to the council of Henry VI. By it the English king was urged to take part in the proposed negotiations for peace, securing meanwhile a friendly cardinal from Rome to act as umpire in the dispute between himself and Charles. The French were very proud, so the memorandum set forth, and the negotiations would certainly fail; while they were going on, the English were advised to gather a large army, to give the duke of Burgundy an increase of territory, and to buy at a suitable price some of the duke's councilors, probably including Lannoy himself. It was further suggested that the duke of Brittany and the constable should be induced to enter the English service, and that the foreign powers should be won over by marriage or otherwise. These papers show plainly that, at this time, there was not the slightest chance of securing by negotiation and truce a lasting peace with Burgundy.[2]

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 415. [2] Beaucourt, ii. 416.

Very soon after the truce was signed, Charles went to Senlis, a movement which brought him nearer Paris, but also nearer the Loire. Alençon and Joan had been for a week at St. Denis, skirmishing about the walls of Paris, seeking the best place for an attack, and smuggling manifestoes into the city to arouse the Armagnac partisans and to discourage the friends of the English. To take the city by assault would call for the efforts of the whole army, and they earnestly wished for reinforcements, and for the presence of the king to encourage the troops.[1]

Aug. 28–Sept. 7, 1429.

As Charles did not come, Alençon went to Senlis on September 1, and not improbably at that time first learned of the truce. Its terms, however, permitted an attack upon Paris, and if the capital once were taken, truce or no truce, the English power would fall. Charles promised to come to St. Denis, and Alençon returned to make ready for him, but the wretched king broke his word and stayed at Senlis. On September 5 the duke went there a second time, succeeded in overbearing the party of peace, and on Wednesday, September 7, dragged Charles to St. Denis. Joan and all her companions were much encouraged, and every one said, "She will put the king into Paris, if he will let her."[2] It is probable, however, that Charles had already decided to retreat.

On the very evening of the king's arrival at St. Denis, the duke of Alençon, with Joan, young Guy of Laval, and other captains, made a vigorous reconnoissance, riding up to the gates of the city; they then encamped in a village called La Chapelle, close to Paris. Thursday,

[1] P. iv. 25, Cagny; 47, Berri; 85, J. Chartier; 463, *Journ. Bourg.* and *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429; P. iv. 500, Windecken. See Grassoreille, *Chapitre de Notre Dame*, in *Mém. soc. hist. Paris*, t. ix. 176 et seq.

[2] P. iv. 25, Cagny; 86, J. Chartier; 199, *Journ. Siège;* Beaucourt, ii. 239, note 1.

September 8, was the birthday of our Lady, then and now a great festival in the Catholic Church. It seems that Joan had some scruple about attacking Paris on a holy day, though this is not clear; but the captains were eager to advance, perhaps fearing lest the wretched king should be persuaded to desert them before anything was accomplished. Joan's voices did not forbid, and so she went forward with the army; having made up her mind to storm the city, though the captains would have been content with a vigorous skirmish.[1] Sept. 8, 1429.

At eight o'clock the army marched, leaving the king safe at St. Denis. Joan, together with old Gaucourt and the marshal Rais, advanced against the gate of St. Honoré, while Alençon with the reserves covered the rear of the attacking party against a possible sally of the garrison from one of the other gates of the city. So heavy was the fire of the artillery placed on the walls that the duke was obliged to shelter himself behind a hill, near the site of the present church of St. Roch. About midday the assault began. The boulevard, or earthwork, which covered the gate of St. Honoré, was taken without much trouble, and Joan came to the deep fosse, filled with water, which surrounded the city's walls. Besiegers and defenders were now within hailing distance; Joan summoned the Parisians to surrender, and they answered her with shouts of defiance, calling her by all the foul names in the language. On both sides the firing was incessant, and many of both parties were killed and wounded. The peaceable citizens of Paris, meanwhile, were in wild terror. Men ran through the streets, crying that all was lost, and that the enemy was already inside the gates. The churches, filled for the festival, were abandoned, and every man hid himself in his own house. Within a few years Paris had seen horrible

[1] P. i. 57, 146, 147, J.'s test.; iv. 198, *Journ. Siège; Journ. Bourg.*, ed. Tuetey, 244.

massacres both of Armagnacs and Burgundians, and the soldiers of Charles had long been in the worst repute.[1]

For all the bravery of the French, the water in the fosse was so deep that they could not get at the walls. Joan and Rais, accordingly, ordered it to be filled by throwing fagots and great blocks of wood into the water; wagon-loads of these had been brought, but the fosse was so deep that it could not be crossed. This failure of the French encouraged the garrison and it fired the harder, shooting Joan's standard-bearer through the head, and wounding Joan herself in the leg with the bolt of an arblast. As at the Tourelles, she would not allow a retreat, but still urged that the fosse should be filled, and that the troops should advance to the assault. It was growing dark, the soldiers were tired, and Gaucourt, who inclined to the party of peace, was easily discouraged. He tried to induce Joan to withdraw, but, wounded though she was, she refused. Night came on. Alençon saw that nothing could be done until the next day, and sent a message to Joan; still she did not budge. At last he rode up himself, and with Gaucourt's help dragged her from a dry ditch where she kept her post. She was mounted, and brought back to La Chapelle, but as she rode away from the field she persisted in saying, "By my staff, the place would have been taken."[2]

That Paris could have been taken by an army which had wasted its courage in delays, whose movements were cramped by a partial truce, whose leaders were quarreling, and whose king had issued orders to retreat before permitting an attack,[3] may well be doubted. On Thurs-

[1] P. iv. 26, Cagny; 86, J. Chartier; 456, Fauquemberque; 465, *Journ. Bourg.*; Grassoreille, 176. On September 7, the day before the assault, a forced loan was exacted from the churchmen and burghers of Paris, in order to resist the French attack. P. iv. 456.

[2] P. iv. 27, Cagny.

[3] Definite arrangements for the abandonment of the campaign were made September 7. Beaucourt, ii. 239, note 1.

day night a retreat was probably necessary. But that Paris could have been taken, even as late as Thursday morning, if the king and his councilors had really wished its capture, is almost certain. "If any one in the king's command had been as manly as Joan," said a Burgundian chronicler, "Paris would have been in danger of capture, but all the rest disagreed about the capture."[1]

Early on Friday morning, in spite of her wounds, Joan sent for Alençon, and begged him to sound the trumpets for an advance, saying that she would never leave until she had taken the city. Alençon was ready to move, and some of the captains agreed with him, but others differed. While they were talking, René of Bar and the count of Clermont came from Charles, and ordered Joan and Alençon to return at once to St. Denis. La Trémoille and the party of peace had again got control of the king.[2] Sept. 9–21, 1429.

Distressed as they were, they had to obey, and the wounded girl rode back with the duke. Even at this time she would not give up all hope. That part of Paris which lay south of the Seine might have walls less strong than those near the gate of St. Honoré. Alençon had built a bridge across the river near St. Denis, and the two made ready to pass it, hoping, perhaps, to enter Paris by surprise. This movement was to be made on Saturday, the day after their return to St. Denis, but on Friday night some of the council caused the bridge to be broken without the duke's knowledge, though he was lieutenant-general of the army.[3] In this state of discipline there was danger in staying within

[1] Gilles de Roye, in *Chron. Belg. inéd.*, i. 208.

[2] P. iv. 27, Cagny. See 47, Berri; Cochon, *Chron. Normande*, 306.

[3] P. iv. 28, Cagny. According to Beaucourt, ii. 239, the count of Clermont was given the military command in northern France, by commission dated September 7. How far this commission superseded Alençon's at once, and how far it was intended to operate only after the duke's departure, is not clear.

reach of the enemy. Bedford had again drawn near, and the duke of Burgundy was making ready to march on Paris.[1] There was a little more wrangling in the council, and then, on Tuesday, September 13, Charles broke camp at St. Denis, passed to the northward of Paris, and began his retreat to the Loire. On that day he sent a manifesto to the men of Rheims, who had received him gladly less than two months before, and who had repeatedly begged him not to abandon them. He announced that he was going to make a real treaty of peace with Burgundy, with whom he had already made a truce.[2] In the mean time, so he said, he would not eat up the country with his army, but would return to the Loire and there gather a large force, to be used in case the treaty of peace was not made.[3] There is no reason to suppose that the men of Rheims believed these statements; they knew perfectly that Charles was deliberately abandoning them to the English and to Philip, and they doubtless were thankful that he had not offered their city to the duke, as he had offered Compiègne, probably even while he was living in the place.[4]

Joan did not wish to leave St. Denis, where her voices bade her stay, though they did not forbid her to follow the army, after it had made ready to retreat. Before she left, she offered to the saint her arms — a full suit of white armor and a sword. She made this votive offering, she said, as men at arms were wont to do when they recovered from their wounds; she made it to St. Denis, because that was the war-cry of France. Though her

[1] Bedford was at Vernon on August 27 and September 1, meaning to attack Charles. See Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 115, 118; *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1429.

[2] On September 20 Philip left Hesdin and traveled to Paris at the head of three or four thousand armed men. He was received in great state at Senlis by Charles's lieutenants. Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxiii.

[3] Beaucourt, iii. 518.

[4] See P. v. 174; Sorel, *La prise de J. devant Compiègne*, 156.

faith was still strong, and her spirit unbroken, yet her final disappointment began with the retreat from Paris. Before that time she had met with many obstacles, but had overcome them; thereafter her efforts generally failed.[1]

The retreat of the army from St. Denis to the Loire was safe and speedy.[2] On Wednesday, September 21, Charles dined at Gien, having marched more than one hundred and fifty miles in eight days. "Thus," says a chronicler, "was broken the will of the Maid and of the king's army."[3]

[1] P. i. 57, 179, 260, J.'s test.

[2] The Marne was crossed at Lagny, the Seine at Bray, and the Yonne near Sens. P. iv. 89.

[3] P. iv. 29, Cagny. This author, a follower of Alençon, says that the retreat was disorderly. Probably, however, his language merely expresses his disgust that any retreat was made.

CHAPTER XIV.

ST. PIERRE LE MOUSTIER AND LA CHARITÉ.

On the arrival of the army at Gien, its leaders were divided in counsel and quarreling bitterly. For the moment, La Trémoille's triumph was complete. He had destroyed the enthusiasm of the nobles and the people, by the truce with Burgundy he had made war impossible, and he had prepared a long series of profitless embassies and negotiations, under cover of which he could misrule France as he pleased. Alençon had been outmanœuvred in the royal council, and was deprived of his command by the appointment of the count of Clermont as lieutenant-general in his place.[1] Urged by Joan, perhaps, the duke made a last attempt to accomplish something with the force at hand or with a fresh levy of troops.

Sept. 21–October, 1429.

Normandy was the seat of the English power in the north of France. Elsewhere they only held fortresses in a hostile country, but in Normandy they had tried to establish their government with some little measure of success. If their control of the province was disturbed, they would be taken in the rear, and unable to act with vigor against the French elsewhere. The enthusiasm excited by the march on Rheims was felt even in Normandy, and its people, liking the English rule none too well, were encouraged to hope for deliverance. The French partisan leaders were now close to the Norman border, and they were planning surprises of this fortress

[1] Vallet de Viriville, *Charles VII.*, ii. 121, 122; Beaucourt, ii. 239; iii. 518; P. iv. 30, Cagny.

and that; the whole province was uneasy and ready for a rising. Alençon wished to take advantage of this state of affairs, and to support with a regular army the guerrilla warfare just about to break out. He was ready to undertake the levying of troops, and he asked that Joan might accompany him in his proposed expedition. The request was refused; La Trémoille and his party would not let Alençon become the leader of the French people in their struggle against the English. The duke went in disgust to his estates and stayed there, never again to serve with Joan.[1] The army, which had left Gien in high spirits three months before, was at once disbanded.[2]

For several days the court stayed in Gien. At the end of September Charles journeyed toward Selles, while the queen set out from Bourges to meet him there. In her train went Margaret la Touroulde, a reputable woman about forty years old, the wife of an officer of the treasury. Joan had left Gien with Charles, and from Selles she was sent on to stay with Margaret in her house at Bourges.[3] There she passed three weeks, almost constantly in the companionship of her hostess, going with her to confession, to mass, and to matins, sleeping with her often at night, talking freely of her own life since leaving Domremy.

Joan's failure before Paris had not shaken her trust in

[1] Alençon did carry on a little campaign in his own duchy during the late autumn. Godefroy, *Charles VII.*, 40.

[2] P. iv. 30, Cagny; 48, Berri; v. 71, Martial d'Auvergne. For a supposed campaign of Richemont's in Normandy, probably apocryphal, see Cosneau, *Richemont*, 174; *Bib. Ec. Char.*, t. xlvii. 560; t. xlix. 266.

[3] P. iii. 86, M. la Touroulde. Margaret says that Charles came to Bourges himself; but this seems improbable. According to Vallet de V., *mss. itin.*, he was at Sully September 26, at Selles October 1, at Loches October 10, and at Selles again, October 19. See, also, *Bib. Ec. Char.*, t. viii. 144.

God, her voices, and her mission. That she could have taken Paris, if she had been properly supported, she did not doubt; she had grieved bitterly over the cowardly retreat of the army, but she never wavered in her belief that God had sent her to save France. Her voices no longer directed her plan of campaign, but they were constantly with her, encouraging her in every struggle with the enemy. Thus supported, it is no wonder that she was almost always cheerful and sanguine.

She had been disappointed by the failure of Alençon's proposed expedition to Normandy, but this had not been directly commanded by her voices, and when it failed, she wished to fight elsewhere. The council, always vacillating, allowed her to do so.[1] Its choice of the object of attack was quite characteristic. The truces with Burgundy protected all the territory in which the campaign had lately been carried on,[2] while the refusal to allow Alençon to march on Normandy made it impossible to attack that province. Moreover, Charles did not wish to irritate the duke of Burgundy or even the English, since his ambassadors were then at St. Denis with those of England and Burgundy, discussing terms of peace.[3] Neither England nor Burgundy had any intention of making peace, it is true. Even La Trémoille hardly wished it; but he did wish negotiation, and he had to keep up appearances. The council, therefore, was compelled to find an enemy for Joan whom neither England nor Burgundy seriously cared to protect.

At the western frontier of the duchy of Burgundy, on the Loire and the Allier, were several fortified towns held by soldiers of fortune. One of these men, Perrinet Grasset or Gressart, had risen high in the world by the skillful exercise of his trade. Originally a mason, he had entered the service of Burgundy and had soon come

[1] P. i. 109, J.'s test.

[2] See Delisle, *Nouveaux Documents.*

[3] Beaucourt, ii. 412.

to the command of a well-disciplined body of cut-throats. In 1423 he made his fortune by the capture from the French of La Charité on the Loire, a strong fortress in which he lived for more than ten years. Nominally subject to the duke, he had plundered Frenchmen and Burgundians with reasonable impartiality, and had constantly refused to observe the truces made from time to time between Charles and Philip. Shortly after his capture of La Charité he had seized La Trémoille, as the favorite was going on an embassy to the duke, and had exacted a large ransom. He had become a terror to the nobles as well as to the common people of Berry, and even to the citizens of Bourges. When Philip sought to keep him within bounds, he was wont to threaten the duke that he would sell out his band and his fortress to some other master.[1]

Perrinet Grasset had a niece who was his ward. In 1426 her hand was given to a man after her uncle's own heart. Francis of Surienne, commonly called Francis of Aragon, was a Spanish nobleman of family, uncle of Rodrigo Borgia, who was afterwards Pope Alexander VI. Having come to France to earn his living, he had entered the service of Burgundy, and had been made bailiff of St. Pierre le Moustier, a fortified town about

[1] For Grasset, see Quicherat, *Rod. de Villandrando*, 58; Villaret, *Campagnes des Anglais*, 109; *Livre des Trahisons*, in *Chron. Belg. inéd.*, ii. 131; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. x.; Plancher, *Hist. Bourgogne*, iv. 51, 61, 78, 106, 119, 161, 194; Vallet de V., *Charles VII.*, i. 396, 482; ii. 301, n.; Beaucourt, ii. 128, 373; Cosneau, *Richemont*, 193; *Les la Trémoille*, 165; Berri, in Godefroy, *Charles VII.*, 382; Beaurepaire, *Admin. de Normandie*, 27; Oliv. de la Marche, Bk. I. ch. iii.; Canat, *Documents inédits sur l'hist. de Bourgogne*, 306, 319, 325, 327, 330, 361, 365, 369; Fréminville, *Ecorcheurs en Bourgogne*, 29. In 1427 La Charité and "the other places which Perrinet Gressart holds" were excluded from the armistice between Philip and Charles. Apparently St. Pierre le Moustier was included. Plancher, *Hist. Bourgogne*, iv., lxxiii.

thirty-five miles from La Charité. He had entered into a sort of partnership with Grasset, and supported himself and his followers in Grasset's fashion.[1] For the real purpose of the war, that is, the expulsion of the English, the capture of St. Pierre and La Charité would be almost useless. The French approach to northern France had been so well secured, that these fortresses were not a serious menace to the communications of an army marching from Bourges upon Paris, as they might have been before the campaign just finished. Undoubtedly, their capture would be a great relief to all the people of Berry, and La Trémoille had his old grudge against Grasset. The duke of Burgundy probably cared little whether Grasset kept La Charité or not, and seems to have had no intention of protecting his nominal lieutenants. For these reasons, the council determined to send Joan against the two places. If she were successful, no harm would be done, and La Trémoille would have satisfied his grudge; if she were unsuccessful, her influence would be almost gone, and the favorite would be rid of a danger which threatened his control of France.

Some general must accompany Joan, and La Trémoille chose his man with excellent discretion. Charles of Albret was his own half-brother, the head of a great Gascon house, and allied to the blood royal. In early life he had played fast and loose with English and French, then he had attached himself to Charles VII., and by so doing had got a good share of the favors which the king

[1] Surienne was born about 1398, d. 1462. G. Chastellain, iv. 233, n. See, also, ii. 261, 265, 266, 298, 305, 314; Canat, 221, 223, 226, 229, 232, 330, 337, 369; Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, i. 275; ii. 427 (620); Plancher, iv. 163; Villaret, 37; Fréminville, 218. His unprovoked attack on Fougères in 1449, when he was in the English service and a Knight of the Garter, brought on the struggle which resulted in the final overthrow of the English. Francis sent back his garter, left the English service, and entered that of Spain. Later he held a post under Louis XI.

used to distribute among his favorites. He was a faithful follower of La Trémoille, and had sat in the council which voted the truce with Burgundy. Like all men of his station, he had seen a good deal of military service, and he had fought with Joan at Patay.[1]

The failure of the attack on Paris had lessened Joan's renown, and Frenchmen no longer looked to her with the devotion they had felt three months before. Her name, however, had still some attraction, and with its help a force was got together before the end of October. In the mean time, she lived at Bourges, and the people of the city, especially the women, tried to gratify the curiosity about her which existed in spite of her diminished reputation. The story got abroad in the town that she was not afraid to fight, because she knew by revelation that she could not be killed. Joan told the people that she had no better chance of safety than the other soldiers. The women used to come to the house of Margaret la Touroulde, bringing their beads and the like, which they begged Joan to touch, as if she had been a saint; but she laughed at them, and said to her hostess, "Do you touch them, and they will be just as good as if I had done it myself." The king had the grace to supply her liberally with money, and she spent it in alms, saying that she was sent for the consolation of the poor and needy.[2]

Toward the end of October she left Bourges, and marched with Albret against St. Pierre le Moustier. This town taken by the Burgundians in 1422, was of some little importance, though not very large, and stood about two miles east of the river Allier, at the edge of a

[1] Albret was second cousin of Charles VII. (Beaucourt, i. 375); he died 1471. At about this time he was made lieutenant-general of the forces (sur le fait de la guerre) in Berry. Beaucourt, ii. 277, n. In 1442 the constable Richemont married his daughter. See, also, Beaucourt, i. 197, n., 412; ii. 43, 119, 283, 564, 635, n.; Plancher, iv., lxxxi.

[2] P. iii. 86, 87, M. la Touroulde.

bluff rising sharply from the fields which lay between the walls and the river. It was well fortified, with strong towers and a deep moat, and it was held by a sufficient garrison. Francis of Surienne did not command in person, but seems to have trusted the defense to some lieutenant.[1]

The army sent with Joan was not a large one, but it invested the place, and vigorously bombarded the walls.[2] After the siege had lasted a week or so, Albret ordered an assault. The troops did their best to storm the place, but failed to accomplish anything, and at length fell back. Aulon, Joan's squire, charged with the care of her person, saw that she remained near the walls with only four or five men about her. Fearing that she would be wounded or taken by a sortie of the garrison, he rode up to her,[3] and asked her impatiently what she was doing there alone, and why she did not fall back with the rest. Deliberately she took off her helmet, and told Aulon that she was not alone, but that she had in her company fifty thousand of her people, and that she would not budge from the spot until she had taken the town.[4]

The literal-minded squire looked about him. Whatever she might say, as he afterwards testified, there were not above four or five men with her, an obvious fact known to others beside himself. Again he bade her leave the place and retreat, as the other soldiers had done. For answer she told him to bring hurdles and fagots, so that a way could be made over the ditch to the walls of the town, and then she cried to the troops: "Bring hurdles and fagots, every man of you, and bridge the ditch."

[1] Jaladon de la Barre, *J. à St. Pierre le Moustier*, 18, 22.

[2] P. v. 147, 148.

[3] He had been wounded and could not stand without crutches.

[4] Joan may have had a vision of soldiers, but this seems unlikely. Probably she spoke in some allegorical sense, and Aulon's testimony may not report the exact words.

This was done, Aulon tells us, to his great surprise, and at once the town was taken by storm without much further resistance. The soldiers, carried away by the fury of the assault, tried to break into the church and pillage it, as they had pillaged the church at Jargeau. But Joan had a great horror of sacrilege; "she manfully forbade it," as a priest who followed her testified, "and never suffered that anything should be carried away from the place."[1]

About November 1 St. Pierre le Moustier was thus taken, but its siege had exhausted the French supplies and munitions. Before attacking La Charité, it was necessary to get together a considerable supply of powder, projectiles, arblasts, and the like. Joan went with Albret to Moulins, the most important place in the neighborhood, whence both of them dispatched letters to the cities of central France, setting forth the needs of the army and asking for help. From some cities this help was forthcoming, and the expedition marched against La Charité about November 10. The marshal Boussac, one of the generals who had conducted Joan to the relief of Orleans, now joined the army.[2] Nov., 1429.

Between the fall of St. Pierre and the siege of La Charité, Joan had to undergo a trial inevitable to one in her position. In every province and in every city of France, in almost every hamlet, her story was known. Traveling friars preached sermons in her honor, and the prayers of the church taught that France had been saved by her hand.[3] Might there not be other women who had visions as well as Joan, sent by God to take part in saving the country, or in aiding her to save it? It was certain that women would appear who believed themselves to be thus inspired.

[1] P. iii. 217, Aulon; 23, Thierry.

[2] P. v. 146, 147, 148; Villaret, 159. That Boussac was not with the army from the first is expressly stated by Cagny, P. iv. 31.

[3] Hardy, *La Mission de J.;* P. v. 104.

Since the capture of Troyes in July, Friar Richard, the great preacher, had followed Joan. At first this enthusiastic, indiscreet man had given himself up entirely to admiration of her, but her simple common sense had discouraged his rhapsodies, and she had given no sign of enrolling herself among his followers, as many other women had done. He did not desert Joan, but he was ready to discover equal virtue in some other person, and he soon found his chance. At La Rochelle there lived a young married woman, Catherine by name, who gave out that she was visited by a white lady dressed in cloth of gold, and that she was divinely commissioned to go through the cities of France raising money for the payment of Joan's soldiers. She wished the king to give her heralds and trumpeters, who should order all people to bring forth their gold, silver, and treasures, and should proclaim to the disobedient that Catherine knew them well and would find out their goods. Somehow or other this woman reached Berry and met Friar Richard. He did not wish to despise God's messenger a second time, and without hesitation he devoted himself to her cause. Instructed, perhaps, by one of La Trémoille's party, perhaps only catching the drift of opinion at court, Catherine talked much of making peace with the duke of Burgundy.

The two women were brought together, and Catherine tried to join herself to Joan and so avail herself of Joan's reputation. Joan was shrewd; but to disbelieve Catherine's story without investigation was to doubt the power of God. She asked, accordingly, if the white lady of whom Catherine spoke visited her every evening, and she proposed that they should use the same bed in order that she, too, might see the visitant; to this Catherine agreed. They lay awake until midnight, seeing nothing; then the stout peasant girl could no longer keep her eyes open, but slept until morning. When she awoke she asked

if the white lady had come. Catherine said yes, but that Joan was sleeping so soundly that it was impossible to arouse her. Joan asked if the white lady would come the next evening also, and when Catherine replied that she would, Joan, knowing her own weakness, resolved to guard against it, and went to sleep in the daytime. Thus refreshed, she was able to keep awake through the night. No white lady appeared, though Joan often asked if she was not coming, and Catherine always answered, "Yes, very soon." The story is especially interesting, not as proving Catherine's bad faith, which is doubtful,[1] but as showing the healthy physical nature of Joan, whom intense curiosity could not keep awake.

The failure of Catherine to do as she had promised was not the only cause of Joan's disbelief in her. The woman's bearing did not commend her, and St. Catherine and St. Margaret, to whom Joan appealed in every case of doubt, told her that the matter was only folly. She wrote to the king to put him on his guard, and when she met him told him the woman amounted to nothing. Catherine herself she advised to go back to her husband and her children. It had become a part of Catherine's plan to visit the duke of Burgundy and urge him to make peace. Joan, who herself had urged him more than once, from her bitter experience answered that it seemed to her that peace would never be found except at the point of the lance. Both Catherine and Friar Richard were much offended with Joan, and the party at court opposed to her were now furnished with a means of discrediting her by setting up a rival prophetess. Catherine, in turn, advised against the expedition to La Charité, which was ready to set out.[2]

[1] Probably she was at least partly sincere.

[2] P. i. 106, 119, J.'s test. It is impossible to fix precisely the date of Joan's meetings with Catherine of La Rochelle. There were at

About November 10 the army marched and sat down before the place. The details of the siege are almost altogether unknown. It lasted about a month, during much of which time the town was battered vigorously by the French artillery.[1] There was great want of money and of munitions among the besiegers, and urgent appeal was made, not only to the court, but also to the city of Bourges. As usual, the king and his council did nothing; having refused Alençon's offer to raise troops, having sent Joan on an expedition not of her choosing, the success of which would have done little good, they left the soldiers to starve. Bourges did better; its people had suffered greatly from the ravages of Grasset's brigands; they saw that "it would be a great pity for the said town and for the whole country of Berry if the siege should be raised," and they sent to the army a considerable sum of money.[2] At last an assault was ordered,

least two of them; they both took place after the return to Gien (September 21), and one at least before the expedition to La Charité (about November 10). Joan testified that she met Catherine at Jargeau and at Montfaucon. If the expedition to La Charité was discussed in the meeting at Jargeau, that meeting probably took place before the expedition to St. Pierre le Moustier, for it is very unlikely that Joan traveled as far as Jargeau in the interval between the two expeditions. During that time, however, she may well have stopped at Montfaucon. Catherine's objection that the weather was too cold for a siege would have been more reasonable in November than in October, before the attack on St. Pierre. On the whole, I am inclined to think that Joan first met Catherine at Montfaucon in early November, and later at Jargeau, where, on very doubtful authority, Joan is said to have spent her Christmas. P. iv. 474, *Journ. Bourg.* Charles VII. was at Jargeau on October 30 (Vallet de V., *mss. itin.*), but it seems that Joan was not with him when she first met Catherine.

[1] The facetious sharpshooter, John of Lorraine, was wounded while using his culverin, serving at the expense of Orleans. Villaret, 166.

[2] P. iv. 31, Cagny; 49, Berri; 91, J. Chartier; v. 71, M. d'Auvergne; 356.

apparently by Joan's direction,[1] but it was repulsed with some loss. The money sent by the men of Bourges was spent, Grasset was skillful and wary, the unpaid and ill-fed soldiers became discouraged, and the siege was abandoned in disorder, some of the French artillery falling into Grasset's hands. There were stories abroad that the raising of the siege was not due to the mere neglect of the court properly to support Joan. A chronicler writes that Grasset caused the troops to retire "by marvelous adroitness," and it is not impossible that he dealt directly with Albret or with some other follower of La Trémoille.[2]

So ended the campaign in utter failure. Even if La Charité had fallen, nothing of importance would have been accomplished; as it was, not only was there a useless waste of men and guns and ammunition and money, but the power of Joan's name, lessened by the failure before Paris, was almost destroyed. Commissioned to save France, but no longer directed by her voices precisely where to go, she had trusted herself, like a sensible girl, even against her own judgment, to the advice of the captains about her.[3] By them she had been betrayed, or at least abandoned. The only success in the campaign, a success as brilliant as any she had ever won, though quite profitless, had been gained by acting against their advice. She was not a general; to the art of war she brought nothing but shrewd common sense, a keen

[1] P. i. 109, J.'s test.

[2] Godefroy, *Hist. Charles VII.*, 332. Vallet de V., *Hist. Charles VII.*, ii. 126, says that Grasset surrendered La Charité in January, 1430, on receipt of 1,300 crowns from Bourges. The modern authorities to which he refers themselves cite no authorities, and the story is impossible. Grasset remained in command of La Charité for Burgundy. Canat, *Doc. inéd.*, 330. Perhaps Bourges bought freedom from attack. See P. v. 356. La Charité was finally taken in 1440. Godefroy, *Charles VII.*, 412.

[3] P. i. 147, 169, J.'s test.

eye for the situation, and a quick sympathy with the moods of her soldiers. Given the full command of an army, very likely she would have failed. What she did and could bring to any honest general of respectable skill was the power to make his soldiers fight as they had never fought, and to fill his enemies with a mysterious dread which paralyzed the bravest of them. This moral power, worth thousands of the best fighting men, the king's council — for the wretched king had no will of his own — deliberately threw away.

CHAPTER XV.

LAGNY.

The failure before La Charité ended Joan's fighting in the year 1429, and she went to join the king at the castle of Mehun on the Yêvre, where he kept his court. His negotiations with Burgundy still dragged on without result, except an extension of the truce to Easter, 1430.[1] The English ignored the invitation to become a party to it, and vigorously carried on their war in Normandy, regaining after long sieges some of the places which they had lost at the time of the French advance.[2] In the neighborhood of Paris, the truce did not altogether restrain the soldiery on either side. The French were in double difficulty, for they were forbidden to fight the Burgundians, while they were constantly exposed to the attacks of Philip's allies, the English. Finding himself without sufficient force and controlling authority, the count of Clermont resigned his office as lieutenant-general in the country north of the Seine, and retired to his estates. His authority, such as it was, devolved upon another prince of the house of Bourbon, the count of Vendôme,[3] who was under the control of the archbishop and of La Trémoille.[4] It should be added that at this time the favorite himself sought an interview

Dec., 1429–March, 1430.

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 415. In October, Philip had been made Henry's lieutenant-general. *Rev. Hist.*, t. xix. 71, 79.

[2] For the operations in Normandy, see Cochon, *Chron. Normande*, 307 et seq.

[3] Vendôme had been a lieutenant of Clermont. Vallet de V., ii. 121. See P. iv. 90.

[4] Vallet de V., ii. 121 et seq.

with the constable, in order to assassinate him.[1] Joan's exploits had recovered for Charles a considerable amount of territory which was never again to be lost, but otherwise his prospects were not much better than they had been a year before.

Joan passed at Mehun some weeks in idleness, and there is hardly any record of her doings during the whole winter. She was not as important a person as she had been six months before: the chroniclers no longer described her every action, the courtiers and the soldiers remembered that her march on Paris had ended in failure, and that her siege of La Charité had been a failure altogether; even the common people began to talk about her rivals, like Catherine of La Rochelle. It would seem that these things must have tried sorely even a being like Joan. The constant comfort of her voices, however, and her undoubting faith in her mission kept her from understanding how hostile were many of the royal councilors, how indifferent the people were growing, and how much of her power was lost.

Since the expedition to Orleans one or more of her brothers had accompanied her. They were commonplace young men, like their neighbors at Domremy, but they had their ambitions, and they wished to use their sister's renown to better their own position. A patent of nobility was desirable, not only for the honor of the thing, but also because it conferred certain very substantial privileges in matters of taxation. Joan cared nothing for nobility, — it seems that she tried to refuse it; but La Trémoille and his party were quite willing to grant her brothers' request. That which she really

[1] See Gruel, 75, 76; Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 582; Cosneau, *Connet. de Richemont*, 178; Beaucourt, ii. 268 et seq. It appears that La Trémoille first hired an assassin, and on his failure planned the interview. It is also probable that the constable was trying to assassinate the favorite.

desired, an opportunity to fight against the enemies of France, they would not give her; they were the readier to profess their gratitude by loading her with empty honors. The patent was made out accordingly: Joan's services were touched upon, and it was declared fitting, not only on account of her merits, but also in recognition of the Divine grace, that she and all her family should be exalted and distinguished by rewards worthy the honor of the king's majesty. Therefore, considering the praiseworthy, grateful, and useful services many times rendered by her in the past, and the services which in future it was hoped she might render (this last phrase must have been pleasant to Joan), she, her father, mother, and brothers, and all their descendants to the farthest generation, were ennobled, with all the privileges belonging to nobility.[1]

The patent of nobility describes no coat-of-arms, but shortly before the patent was issued, or very soon afterwards, the brothers got leave to blazon a coat-of-arms, which has been treated as that of Joan herself, though she never used it. On an azure field, between two golden lilies of France, an upright sword supported a crown, plainly signifying that the sword of Joan had delivered the kingdom. The youngest brother was not content with this proud device, but preferred to invent or to borrow what he was pleased to call the old arms of his family. Joan would not substitute either one or the other for the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, and the throned Creator, the devices under which her victories had been won.[2]

[1] P. v. 150.

[2] P. v. 225. A note contained in a treatise on the value of coins, compiled in 1559, has been published by Wallon, éd. illus., p. 414. It sets out that a coat-of-arms, bearing the sword, crown, and lilies, was granted to Joan by Charles at Chinon, on June 2, 1429, before the siege of Jargeau. In the year 1429 Charles was not at Chinon

Before relieving Orleans, while she was living at Tours, she had become acquainted with the daughter of Hamish Power,[1] the Scotch painter who made and decorated her banner. The young girl, Héliote, was to be married in February, and Joan wrote to the council of the city, asking that a hundred crowns might be given to buy the trousseau of her friend. If the request had been made six months before, no doubt it would have been granted, but the enthusiasm of the councilors had cooled. The money of the city, they wisely said, should be spent in maintaining the city, and not otherwise. The good men did not wish to seem ungrateful, however; churchmen and burghers voted to attend the wedding in a body, and to provide a good supply of bread and wine for the wedding feast, all in honor of Joan the Maid.[2]

In midwinter Joan went for a few days to Orleans, accompanied by Rabateau, her host at Poitiers, and by one of her brothers;[3] but most of her time was spent at Mehun until the latter part of February, 1430, when La Trémoille carried both king and court to his castle of Sully on the Loire.[4] Here Joan lived for several weeks, and here she received a curious request. As has been

after May 15, and the statement in the note carries, therefore, very little authority. Joan herself (P. i. 117) testified that she never had a coat-of-arms, but that the king gave one to her brothers like that mentioned in the text. This she had described to a painter, apparently in Rouen, who had asked what were her arms. Very possibly the arms were given to all Joan's family at one time, and her answer at the trial meant simply that she did not use them; or the arms may have been given to her brothers only, while later tradition attributed them to Joan also.

[1] See Vallet de V., ii. 65 ; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *La fausse J.*, 26.

[2] P. v. 154, 271.

[3] P. v. 270. At some time or other she seems to have hired a house from the chapter of the cathedral for a long term of years. See Doinel, *Notes sur une maison de J.; Rev. Hist.*, t. xix. 66.

[4] Vallet de V., *mss. itin.* Before going to Sully, Charles seems to have spent a few days in Jargeau.

said, the fame of her exploits, embellished by legend, was spread over all Europe. In the accounts of the city of Ratisbon has been found a payment for the exhibition of a picture of Joan fighting the English. All Germany, and eastern Germany in particular, was greatly excited over the struggle between the Hussites and the Catholics in Bohemia. The latter, knowing that Joan was commissioned by God for holy warfare, in their distress appealed to her piety. In her name, accordingly, a manifesto against the Hussites was issued. With fervid clerkly rhetoric their sins were described, and they were threatened with speedy destruction at the hands of Joan. Carried away in the flow of his periods, the scribe made Joan say that perhaps she would leave the English, in order "to root out your hideous superstition with the edge of the sword, and snatch you either from heresy or from life." The style of the letter shows pretty plainly that Joan had no part in its composition, but she probably shared the horror of the heretical Hussites which was felt by all religious Frenchmen about her.[1]

During these weeks at Sully, Joan had little time to think about the crimes of the Hussites. The end of the truce was approaching. In a few weeks the Burgundians would be free to take the field; already their forces were summoned,[2] and it behooved the French to be ready for them. There was a chance to retrieve the mistakes of the year just ended, and vigorously to set about driv-

[1] P. v. 270, 156. Notice the contrast between the balanced rhetoric of this letter with its metaphors and similes and the unadorned directness of Joan's genuine letters, disfigured though they sometimes are by clumsy repetitions. For other letters supposed to have been written by Joan to persons asking her help, see P. v. 253. In thankfulness for his escape from disease by means of the intercession of St. Catherine of Fierbois, a canon of Angers celebrated mass for the king, the Maid, and the welfare of the kingdom, May 5, 1430. P. v. 164.

[2] Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxxi.

ing the English from France. The royalists in Paris were plotting to open the gates to Charles's soldiers,[1] the inhabitants of the places occupied by the French were in constant fear of an attack by the Anglo-Burgundians.

Six months earlier, after abandoning his campaign in northern France and before retreating to the Loire, Charles had assured his frightened subjects, and especially the men of Rheims, that, as soon as the truce was ended, he would return at the head of a greater army than ever, and with that army would recover his realm. The time was come; it was vain to hope that he would take the field in person, but he made no attempt even to raise an army, and the men of Rheims were in great distress. Their captain, a nephew of the archbishop, had abandoned them, and was gone no one knew where, having first got a safe-conduct from the duke of Burgundy.[2] A conspiracy to betray them to the English had been made between a canon of the cathedral and Peter Cauchon, count bishop of Beauvais, himself once a canon of Rheims, now a fierce partisan of the English. The plot was discovered, the canon was forced to confess, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in chains; but the men of Rheims wrote their fears to Joan. On March 16 she answered them from Sully, bidding them man their walls, if attacked, and promising to succor them speedily. "I would send you other good news, whereat you would be right glad," she added, "but I fear lest this letter should be taken by the way, and lest they should learn the said news."[3] Probably she had in mind the march into the north which Charles had promised to lead in person.[4]

[1] See *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1430; Vallet de V., ii. 140; Longnon, *Paris sous la domin. anglaise*, 301.

[2] Varin, *Arch. Leg. Reims, Stat.*, t. i. p. 746, n.; P. iv. 381.

[3] Jadart, *J. à Reims*, 109 et seq.; P. v. 129; Wallon, éd. illus., 202.

[4] See Beaucourt, ii. 266.

A few days later the men of Rheims wrote again to her, begging her to contradict certain stories of their disloyalty which had been carried to the king. She promised to do so. "I know well," she went on, "that you have much to suffer from the cruelty of our enemies, those treacherous Burgundians, but by God's will you shall be delivered shortly, that is to say, as soon as possible. I beg and pray you, my very dear friends, to guard well your good city for the king, and to keep good watch. You shall soon hear good news of me more plainly. At present I write you no more, save that all Brittany is French, and the duke will send the king three thousand soldiers paid for two months."[1]

On March 28 this letter was written from Sully; within the next ten days the king went from Sully to Jargeau.[2] Before his departure Joan came to a decision unlike any she had yet taken. Her hope of help from Brittany was quite vain; perhaps the hope was held out simply to deceive her, and she may have learned the truth. Not improbably the proposed departure of Charles for Jargeau showed her that there was no chance of his taking the field. In some way or other the poor girl learned that the king whom she had crowned cared little for the kingdom she was trying to win for him, and that the cities she had freed were to be left almost defenseless to his enemies. Her loyalty to her anointed king was part of her religion, and never failed, even after the plainest proof of his cowardice and imbecility; but she held this loyalty, as many an article of faith is held, without pushing it to its logical consequences, and she recognized that nothing could be hoped from him in the struggle which was before her. To La Trémoille and his party she was bound by no loyalty whatever, and she was coming to understand pretty plainly their treason to France.

[1] P. v. 161; Jadart, 106. See Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 582; ii. 1007.

[2] Vallet de V., *mss. itin.*

At the very end of March, or on one of the first days of April,[1] she left Sully quietly without leave of the king and his council. Believe in God as she might, she could not be quite as sanguine as she had been on leaving Vaucouleurs a year before. Then she had taken for granted the honest patriotism and innocent life of all Frenchmen whom she met; now she knew that much wickedness and treason were to be found even among Frenchmen. Then she had been bidden by her voices to raise the siege of Orleans and to lead Charles to Rheims; now she received no such definite commands, and by the exercise of her own judgment must find out how to save France. She felt her loss of importance in the eyes of the people and of the soldiers, and her very voices, still promising the final deliverance of the kingdom, said less of present success, and even hinted at some disaster.

April, 1430.

She rode northward with her little military household, joining herself, perhaps, to some band of soldiers going that way. She had no definite plan, except to get into the field, and she was ready to help any good work as she went. Instead of going through Champagne by the road which she had opened the year before, she kept farther to the westward, intending to pass near Paris. Her way was obstructed by Anglo-Burgundian fortresses, and she seems to have traveled rather slowly, waiting for the truce to end. The chroniclers give almost no account of her journey.

Directly in her path, at the crossing of the Seine, was the city of Melun. It had been taken by Henry V. ten years before,[2] and had been held by the English until September, 1429, when, with Paris and many other

[1] Cagny says that her departure was in March. P. iv. 32. He says, also, that it was without the king's knowledge, but it must have been tacitly permitted by the council, since Aulon accompanied her.

[2] Vallet de V., *Charles VII.*, i. 226.

places, it had been handed over to Duke Philip as the price of his support.[1] Its Burgundian captain was busy elsewhere, and his brothers, who acted as his lieutenants, kept poor guard. The people of Melun were tired of the English and Burgundians, and more than ready to acknowledge Charles. Hearing, it may be, of Joan's approach, they rose suddenly upon the garrison, which found itself thrust out of the place before it had time to comprehend what was going on.[2] This happened about Easter, April 16, and Joan was thus able to cross the Seine without trouble.[3]

She spent several days in Melun waiting, it is likely, to see if the English or Burgundians would try to retake the place. What was the size of her party we do not know. Probably it was small, made up of a few soldiers who were ready for adventure and desirous of reaching the seat of war; but small as it was, it would be useful if Melun were attacked. One day in Easter week, while Joan was on duty in the fortifications of the city, her voices spoke to her, and told her that she should be made prisoner. Startled, but not terrified, she asked when this was to happen. St. Catherine and St. Margaret answered that she would be taken before midsummer, or St. John's Day, June 24. This must certainly come to pass, they told her; but she need not be frightened, and ought to bear all with patience, since God would help her.

Over and over again, nearly every day, the voices foretold her capture. What they said may not always have

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 35, n.

[2] Chastellain, ii. 28.

[3] It is impossible to say with certainty if Joan reached Melun before its capture. Her expression, "sur les fossés de Melun," may imply that she did, but Chastellain strongly implies the contrary. The truce was over at Easter, and the occupation of Melun by the French probably took place immediately afterwards.

been a definite prediction, but the certainty of capture was kept constantly before her. In the face of this certainty her behavior was characteristic. She begged the saints who spoke to her that she might die when she was taken, without long suffering in prison. With a healthy disregard of logic, she tried to learn the time of her capture, hoping to avoid it; and when she failed in this, she kept right on in her work, as if she had received no warning whatever. If she could have escaped by keeping herself close for a day, she would have done so; to save herself by going back to court and staying there, never entered her mind. She cheered herself, as best she might, by the promise of God's help which her voices brought her, and she prepared to obey their commands, whatever these might be.[1]

In the latter part of April, soon after Easter, Joan rode on from Melun to cross the Marne at Lagny, a small fortified town on the south bank of the river, which in the preceding August had acknowledged Charles.[2] The freebooting soldiers on both sides had paid little respect to the truce while it lasted; now that it was over, the whole country was in arms. The plot to give up Paris to the Armagnacs had failed; some of the conspirators were tortured into confession, and many had been executed.[3] Philip of Burgundy had gathered a large army at Arras, and had sent a strong detachment to reinforce the garrison of Paris;[4] altogether the prospects of the

[1] P. i. 115, J.'s test. Our knowledge of these predictions comes from Joan's testimony, given long after the predictions were fulfilled. A careful study of this testimony, however, leaves a strong impression that her recollections were colored very little, if at all, by subsequent events. St. John's Day, a natural term to fix upon, was about two months after the prophecy. The actual capture was on May 23, a full month earlier.

[2] P. iv. 88, J. Chartier.

[3] *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1430.

[4] Chastellain, ii. 30; St. Remy, ch. clviii.

royalists were not very bright. At just this time a party of Anglo-Burgundians, led by one Franquet of Arras, a soldier of fortune,[1] set out from Paris to take a castle which the French were fortifying, and to harry the country about Lagny.[2]

While on the road, the leaders were tempted to turn aside and fall upon a defenseless village and abbey. There was no resistance, and the party was soon loaded with the spoils of the church and of the poor peasants; thus incumbered, it pushed on to the castle. But the sack of a church and a village, in itself a proceeding almost altogether safe, could not be carried on without arousing attention. The castle was not surprised, and it resisted stoutly; the French from Lagny and the neighboring garrisons, hearing the alarm, came quickly to their comrades' relief, and shut in Franquet and his troops between themselves and the castle. His English archers formed in good order, — the freebooters, to do them justice, were brave enough, — and the first attack of the French was repulsed. But the French had the advantage both of position and of numbers. The artillery of the castle played upon Franquet's rear; Joan herself,

[1] In 1416 Franquet was serving the duke of Burgundy in company with Perrinet Grasset. *Liv. Trahisons,* 131.

[2] I have assumed that the expedition of Franquet described by Jean Chartier (P. iv. 91), Monstrelet (P. iv. 399), and by Chastellain, (ii. 40), is the same as that mentioned by Cochon, 310, and in the *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1430, though the last two accounts say nothing of Franquet or of Joan. The date is about the same. *Journ. Bourg.* and Cochon put it at the end of April; Monstrelet early in May ; but if Franquet's trial lasted a fortnight (P. i. 158), his capture probably happened before May 1. The numbers are the same in Chartier, Monstrelet, Chastellain, and *Journ. Bourg.;* much larger in Cochon. The result of the encounter is the same. *Journ. Bourg.* mentions only English ; Cochon, English and Burgundians ; Monstrelet and Chastellain speak of "those of the party of Burgundy," and mention archers, who were probably English. *Journ. Bourg.*, Chastellain, and Monstrelet, all mention the assembling of the French garrisons.

with certain captains from Lagny, attacked the English in front, and retreat was impossible. Nearly all Franquet's men were killed or taken, he himself being made prisoner. The booty was large, for it is hinted by a Burgundian chronicler that the French did not return to their former possessors all the goods taken by the English from the monks and the peasants.[1]

In the fifteenth century a notable prisoner like Franquet of Arras was generally held to ransom, being treated with reasonable humanity until his ransom was paid. For some reason Franquet was very obnoxious to his captors. He was a robber, a traitor, and a murderer, they said, — words of doubtful import, since nearly every soldier robbed all those weaker than himself, and there were few Frenchmen who had not at some time in the course of the long civil war betrayed one party or the other. As for murder, the laws of war were too loose for its clear definition. For murder, treason, and robbery, however, Franquet was immediately tried before the bailiff of Senlis,[2] and was by him found guilty and condemned to death. The trial lasted about a fortnight, and Joan was not particularly concerned with it, though she suggested that Franquet's life should be spared, and that he should be held as hostage for a certain Parisian innkeeper, perhaps one of the men who had just conspired to surrender Paris to the French. The innkeeper, however, was already dead, and the bailiff told Joan that she would be doing a great injustice if she saved the prisoner's life. She was no lawyer; she had no commission to administer justice, and she could have had little sympathy with a freebooter like Franquet. "Since my

[1] *Journ. Bourg.*, ubi supra.

[2] Jean de Troissy. Jadart, *J. à Reims*, 110. See Lobineau, *Hist. Bretagne*, i. 594. Richard Pocaire is called bailiff of Senlis (Lobineau, i. 582 ; Beaucourt, ii. 271), but the contemporary authority cited by Jadart seems conclusive.

man whom I wished to get is dead," she said, "deal with this man as justice requires." Franquet was beheaded, accordingly, "greatly bewailed by those of his way of thinking, for as much as in arms he was a man of valiant conduct."[1]

While Joan was staying at Lagny, she heard that an unbaptized baby, three days old, had been brought lifeless to the church of Our Lady, in faint hope that it might revive, at least for a moment. The maidens of the town were on their knees before the shrine of the Virgin, and Joan was asked to join them in the prayer that God and the Virgin would give back life to the child. She went there and prayed with the others. The child was black in the face, — black as her coat, Joan said, — but after a while it cried two or three times, and its color began to come back. It was baptized at once, and though it died almost immediately afterwards, its parents had the satisfaction of burying their child in consecrated ground. Of course the story went about Lagny that Joan's prayers had brought a dead baby back to life, but Joan herself did not feel sure that the baby had ever been dead. To the notion that she had wrought a miracle, she paid no heed whatever.[2]

The capture of Melun and the defeat of Franquet were an auspicious opening to Joan's campaign; we know too little of the details of these exploits to determine how much credit for them fairly belongs to her. That she carried herself gallantly in them is evident, and it should be borne in mind that after leaving Melun she fought with the certainty of approaching imprisonment before her.

[1] P. i. 158, J.'s test.; iv. 400, Monstrelet. See B. de Molandon *L'armée anglaise*, 38.

[2] P. i. 105, J.'s test.

CHAPTER XVI.

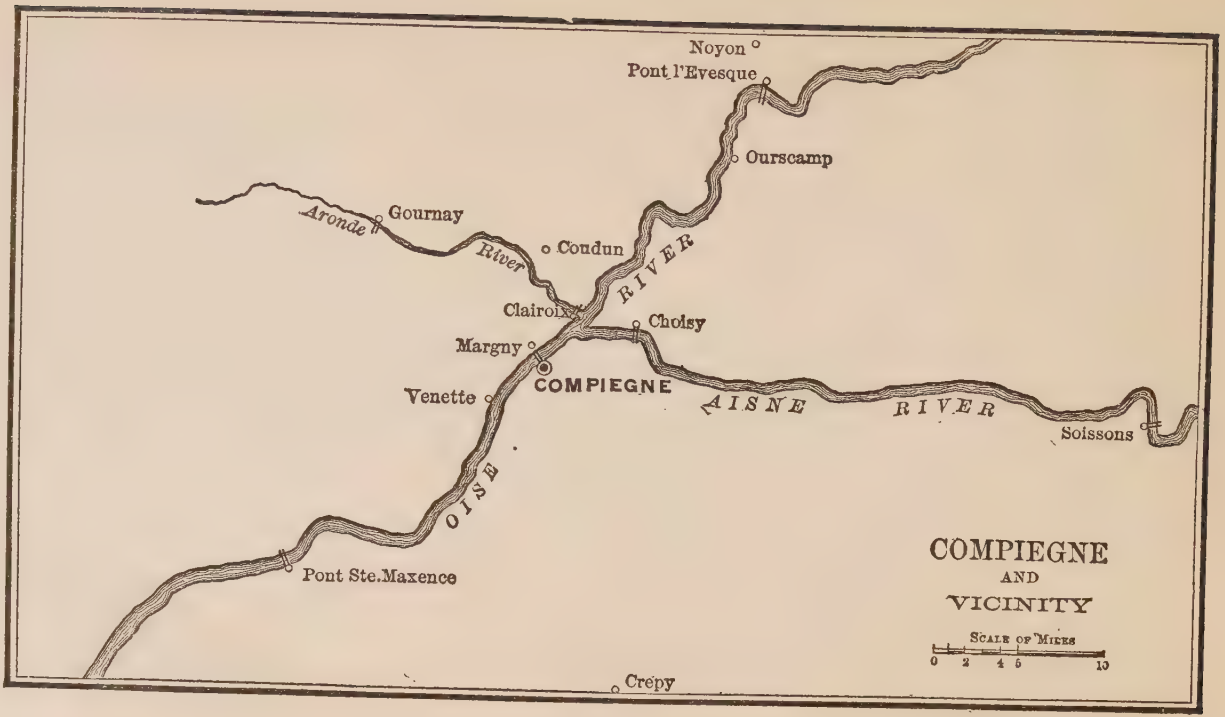
COMPIÈGNE.

Aug.–Dec., 1429.

In the early spring of 1429 the eyes of all Frenchmen were turned toward Orleans. A year later, the eyes of all men in the north of France were turned toward Compiègne. This was a walled town of five thousand inhabitants or thereabouts,[1] on the left or eastern bank of the Oise, about forty miles northeast of Paris. Its political history had been a varied one: twice it had been held by the Burgundians, and twice had it been taken from them by the Armagnacs; then it had fallen to the English in consequence of the treaty of Troyes, and in August, 1429, it had opened its gates to Charles VII.[2] This had been done quite willingly, and the loyalty of its citizens was real and reasonably unanimous. At Compiègne had been held the conferences with the Burgundian ambassadors, and the truce was signed there. After receiving Charles, the people of Compiègne seem to have desired as captain of their town one William of Flavy, an experienced soldier and a man neither better nor much worse than other French captains of the day. La Trémoille, however, wished the

[1] See Sorel, *La prise de J. devant Compiègne*, 366 et seq. In 1448 the population of the town is said to have fallen to 1,200, or 400 households (ménages). As over 500 dwelling-houses had been destroyed in the civil wars, however, and as the statement was made with the object of showing as bad a condition of affairs as possible, I do not think the normal population could have been less than 5,000. Probably it was larger.

[2] See Sorel, passim.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captaincy for himself, and got it as a matter of course, making Flavy his lieutenant by way of compromise.[1]

The duke of Burgundy, having obtained a truce advantageous to himself and injurious to the royal cause, naturally wished some further consideration for his complaisance, and asked that Compiègne be delivered to him for the term of the truce.[2] La Trémoille and the royal council made no objection, and the inhabitants were ordered to open their gates to the duke's soldiers. This they flatly refused to do. Flavy, who was unwilling to offend either the citizens or the favorite, posted off with his excuses to the chancellor.[3] That functionary came to Compiègne, summoned the people, and told them that it was necessary to give up the city to the duke in order to win him from his English allies. The citizens replied that they were the king's humble subjects, willing to obey him and to serve him with their bodies and their goods, but that they would not trust themselves to the duke, on account of the hatred he had conceived against them for their loyalty. The chancellor repeated his orders, but they were not heeded; nothing could shake the resolution of the citizens, who preferred to destroy themselves, their wives and children, rather than give themselves up to the duke's mercy.[4]

[1] For Flavy, see Lafons de Melicocq, *Noyon et le Noyonnais*, 82, 256; Flourac, *Jean I. Comte de Foix*, 118. In 1428 he had defended Beaumont against John of Luxemburg, and in a sortie had taken prisoner a notable man at arms of Luxemburg's company. Fearing that he could not hold out, and that he should thus lose the ransom of his prisoner, he celebrated the man's funeral and buried his effigy in sight of the besiegers, hoping thus that he might put them off their guard, and be able to smuggle away his prisoner. Apparently the trick did not succeed. Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. xlvii.

[2] See the lay of Alain Chartier to the duke of Burgundy, recalling him to his duty. Chastellain, ii. 26, n.

[3] The archbishop of Rheims.

[4] P. v. 173; Beaucourt, ii. 414; Quicherat, *Aperçus nouveaux*, 82.

The miserable inefficiency of the royal government sometimes served a good purpose. As the citizens were obstinate, a new bargain was made with Philip, and Pont Ste. Maxence was handed over to him instead of Compiègne. The duke did not intend to give up the place, however; during the truce he could not act, but as soon as it was over he was determined to take the town.

Jan.–April, 1430.

Early in January he celebrated at Bruges with great magnificence his marriage with his third wife, Isabella of Portugal.[1] He was probably the richest prince of his time, and his court was the most splendid. On this occasion, after weeks of feasting, he founded with great pomp the Order of the Golden Fleece, which remains to this day in the gift of his descendants, the emperor of Austria and the king of Spain. There were tournaments, also, at Bruges and at Arras, wherein French and Burgundian knights contended in all courtesy, who were soon to be fighting in earnest.[2] The coming of Lent put a stop to the gayety, but Philip utilized the season of fasting by sending out summons to his subjects to meet him by Easter at Péronne. In this stronghold, some fifty miles north of Compiègne, called Péronne the Maid, because it never had been captured, he spent his Easter with the duchess. As soon as the festival was over, and the truce was at an end, he took the field with a large force.[3]

The city of Compiègne is situated on the east bank of the Oise, just south of the place where the Aisne enters that river from the east and the Aronde from the west. To reach Compiègne from Péronne, which is west of the Oise and north of the Aronde, it was necessary for the

[1] Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxvii.

[2] Monstrelet, Bk. II. chaps. lxxix., lxxxi.; St. Remy, chaps. clv., clvi., clvii.

[3] Monstrelet, Bk. II. chaps. lxxxi., lxxxii. On March 8 the English gave Philip Champagne and Brie, and 12,500 marks in cash. Vallet de V., ii. 138. The duke was an expensive but indispensable ally.

duke either to cross the Aronde and the Oise, or else to cross the Oise and the Aisne. The fortress of Gournay stood at the passage of the Aronde,[1] while that of Choisy covered the only passage of the Aisne within many miles of Compiègne.

Philip arrived before Gournay at the end of April. There was no French army to take the field for its relief, and the captain of Gournay feared an assault, — very possibly with good reason. Being summoned by Philip to surrender, he agreed to abandon the place on August 1, unless sooner relieved, and in the mean time to keep strict neutrality.[2] By this treaty Philip secured his communications between Péronne and the camp which he intended to establish in front of Compiègne, on the west bank of the Oise.

Between him and the city, however, flowed the Oise, an unfordable river. It might be crossed, indeed, at Pont Ste. Maxence, fifteen miles downstream, and by way of that place Philip might march against Compiègne; but the position of an army encamped about Compiègne, which could communicate with its base of supplies only by Pont Ste. Maxence, would be greatly exposed. A French army marching along the north bank of the Aisne, and protected by that river from the Burgundians besieging Compiègne, might safely reach Choisy, and, crossing the bridge which Choisy commanded, might fall suddenly upon the Burgundian rear. To make the blockade of Compiègne safe and complete, it was necessary first to reduce Choisy. May, 1430.

[1] Probably the Aronde could have been crossed almost anywhere, but Philip could not safely leave a fortress like Gournay so near his line of communications.

[2] Chastellain, ii. 31 ; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxxii. When August came, Gournay was surrendered. Chastellain, ii. 68. The captain was uncle of Agnes Sorel, and father of Antoinette of Maignelays, Agnes' successor in the royal favor. Vallet de V., *Charles VII.*, iii. 243.

As soon as he had come to terms with the captain of Gournay, the duke ascended the west bank of the Oise to Noyon, a town faithful to his party. His plans had been slightly disarranged by the sudden inroad of Robert of Commercy, the freebooting lord who used to take blackmail of the peasants of Domremy. At this moment Robert called himself loyal to Charles, but his raid accomplished nothing, save, perhaps, easier terms for the garrison of Gournay. He retreated, even before Philip could get at him, leaving the duke free to carry out his operations against Choisy.[1] After a few days spent in Noyon, about May 8 Philip sat down before the place.

Though the duke had been arming openly for a month or more, yet, until the siege of Choisy was formed, the French seem to have done nothing; perhaps they had been trusting in Charles's often repeated promises to lead an army to their assistance. The actual appearance of the duke within two or three miles of Compiègne at last aroused them, and about May 13 the principal French leaders met hastily in the city, being accompanied by a considerable body of soldiers, though their force was greatly inferior to that of the duke. The archbishop was present, La Trémoille's delegate in the government of northern France. With him were the count of Vendôme, who had the military command; Pothon of Saintrailles, a distinguished French soldier, who had lately won honor in tilting with the Burgundians at Arras; and many other captains. Joan heard at Lagny of the movements of Duke Philip, and came at once to Compiègne. She was honorably received by the city, and was offered presents of wine like those given to Vendôme and the archbishop.[2]

May 13–17, 1430.

[1] Chastellain, ii. 31, 33, 36; Monstrelet, Bk. II. chaps. lxxxii., lxxxiii.

[2] Sorel, 145 ; P. iv. 260. Two dates in the last campaign of Joan are fixed. She was at Compiègne from May 14 (probably from May 13) to May 18, and she reëntered the city early on the morn-

A council of war was held. To march directly against the duke was out of the question, partly by reason of his superior numbers, and partly because his camp was protected from the French by the Aisne. They could not pass this river at Choisy itself, because the bridge either had been broken down, or else was commanded by the duke's forces. There was no other bridge over the

ing of May 23. See Sorel, 145. There is no evidence that she was at Compiègne in 1430 before May 13, and this is unlikely, for the capture of Franquet, near Lagny, was not earlier than the last days of April, and his trial lasted a fortnight, which would bring his execution not before May 10, up to which date Joan was probably in Lagny. She left Lagny, therefore, not earlier than May 10, reached Compiègne May 13, left it May 18, passed the night of the 18th near Soissons, and on the afternoon of the 22d left Crépy for Compiègne. The battle of Pont l'Evêque was fought before the surrender of Choisy. The surrender could not well have taken place before May 18, on which day the French army marched on Soissons; nor after May 20, since by May 23 the siege of Compiègne was already formed. Philip lay before Choisy on May 10 (Chastellain, ii. 38, n.), and was there about ten days. Probably Choisy surrendered as soon as Louis of Flavy learned the failure of the French army to pass the Aisne at Soissons. The battle of Pont l'Evêque, therefore, was fought before May 20. But it is impossible that Joan, who spent the morning of May 19 before Soissons, should have returned to Compiègne that very day, should have fought the battle of Pont l'Evêque on the following morning, should have left the city at once, just as Choisy was surrendering, and within two days, on May 22, should have again started for the place. Plainly the battle was fought during Joan's first stay in Compiègne, May 13–18, probably on the morning of the 16th or of the 17th. In supposing that the battle was fought after the failure before Soissons, May 18–19, M. Sorel has not studied the dates with sufficient care, as is shown by the fact that, while he supposes the battle was fought to succor Choisy, he yet puts the surrender of that place May 15 (see Sorel, 159), three days before the march on Soissons, and, therefore, according to him, four or five days before the battle. The anonymous chronicler in *Rev. Hist.*, t. xix. 82, puts the surrender of Choisy on May 16, and the formation of the siege of Compiègne May 21, but the first date is too early. The same writer puts Joan's capture on May 27.

Aisne nearer than Soissons, some twenty miles up the river and east of Compiègne. In one respect, however, Philip's position was weak. To get at Choisy, he had had to pass the Oise at Pont l'Evêque, near Noyon, and the bridge of Pont l'Evêque was his only means of communication with his base of supplies and with the country which he owned.[1] If the French could seize and hold this bridge, he would be compelled either to fight his way across an unfordable river, or to make a long retreat through a hostile country. The duke had recognized the importance of the bridge, and had intrusted its defense to two English captains, Montgomery and Stewart.[2]

The bridge was chosen by the French as the object of their attack. By night, with about two thousand soldiers, Joan and Saintrailles crossed the Oise at Compiègne, and rode up its west bank, being protected by the river from the duke's army, which lay on the east bank about Choisy. Just before sunrise the French reached Pont l'Evêque and fell upon the English. These were completely surprised, as most of them were asleep and the sentries had kept poor watch; before they could form in order, the French were among them, striking right and left, and killing many. Despite the confusion, however, the English fought bravely, and held out until Burgundian reinforcements were brought up from Noyon. The contest was then more equal, and the French, seeing that their unexpected attack had not secured them a victory, and fearing lest the duke should send further reinforcements from his camp before Choisy, drew off in good order. Their enemies had no intention of following them, and the Anglo-Burgundian losses were fully equal to the French; but the object of the expedition

[1] There may have been a bridge over the Oise at Ourscamp, below Pont l'Evêque, but probably it was not much used, if it existed. See Sorel, 171; St. Remy, ch. clviii.; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxxiii.

[2] Chastellain, ii. 36.

had failed completely, and the battle of Pont l'Evêque was therefore a decided French defeat.[1] Joan had done what she could for French success, but the expedition had been none of her planning. As the time of her captivity drew near, she followed more closely the advice of the captains, fearing, probably, to make herself responsible for some disaster to the French arms.

The battle of Pont l'Evêque was fought on May 16 or 17. For more than a week Choisy had been battered by the duke's artillery; every day its condition became more critical, and the French planned a second attempt to relieve it. They had failed to turn Philip's position by the west; they would now do so by the east. On May 18 the army left Compiègne with the archbishop, Joan, Vendôme, and the rest, and marched up the south bank of the Aisne to Soissons, where was the nearest bridge over that river. Once across the Aisne, they could attack Philip, or, if they preferred, could threaten his communications without actually fighting a battle. Before nightfall they reached Soissons. The officer in command of the place, being bribed by the duke, who was negotiating for its surrender, refused to admit the army, and persuaded the citizens to join in his resistance by telling them that the French wished to quarter a garrison upon the place. This was a calamity greatly dreaded by all respectable cities, and the deluded people, though loyal after their fashion, took sides with the captain. After much parleying, he was induced to admit the archbishop, Joan, and Vendôme with a very small escort, but the army had to sleep in the fields. When morning came, the captain of Soissons was still obdurate; the army could not cross the Aisne except by entering the city, and its leaders were at their wits' end. Vendôme, as the king's lieutenant, had the right, of

May 18–22, 1430.

[1] P. iv. 397, Monstrelet ; 437, St. Remy ; Chastellain, ii. 37. See P. i. 147, J.'s test.; Sorel, 152 et seq.

course, to enter Soissons and to command its captain, but in the feeble misgovernment of Charles VII. no one obeyed his superior officer unless obedience was agreeable or enforced, and even the duke of Burgundy sometimes found the gates of his cities closed against his troops.

In spite of the obstinacy of Soissons, it is probable that the French army would have found some way across the Aisne if it had been heartily set upon the attempt. Except Joan, however, no one cared much about fighting; the defeat at Pont l'Evêque and the disaffection of the men of Soissons had cooled the ardor of the captains. These left the north of France, accordingly, "because they found no means of living off the country, and also because they were great lords, accompanied by many men at arms, who could not live in the said city of Compiègne, inasmuch as its citizens daily expected it to be besieged." The demoralization of the French was nearly as great, indeed, as it had been fourteen months before. If the men of Compiègne could save themselves, so much the better; if the city was taken, so much the worse. The French leaders went to Senlis, a comparatively safe place, leaving Compiègne to its fate. Some weeks after their departure from Soissons its treacherous captain sold his charge to the duke of Burgundy, and the citizens found out how they had been deceived.[1]

The final abandonment of the attempt to relieve Choisy made its further defense quite hopeless. On May 19 or 20 its captain, Louis of Flavy, stole out of the fortress by night and managed to get across the Aisne to his brother, the captain of Compiègne. The rest of the garrison, thereupon, were glad to come to terms with the Burgundians, and to evacuate the place on being allowed a safe retreat. Philip immediately demolished the castle even to its foundation, and then recrossed the Oise.[2] In

[1] P. iv. 49, Berri; St. Remy, ch. clx.; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. xci.; Chastellain, ii. 68.

[2] Chastellain, ii. 68; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxxiii.

order to carry on the siege of Compiègne, he determined first to intrench himself on the west bank of the river opposite the town, and then, after having established a bridge across the Oise and transported a part of his forces to the east bank, to complete a close blockade of the place on every side. It will be remembered that the siege of Orleans was begun in like manner from the south bank of the Loire by an attack on the Tourelles.

The duke divided his force into four parts. The Picards were encamped at Margny, directly opposite Compiègne and only half a mile away; the Burgundians and Flemings were at Clairoix, some two miles above Compiègne, under the command of John of Luxemburg, count of Ligny; the English were at Venette, a mile or two south of the town, under the command of that Montgomery who had fought at Pont l'Evêque. The duke himself fixed his headquarters at Coudun on the Aronde,[1] some four miles from Compiègne, where he could cover his communications. He established these positions on May 21 or 22, and made ready for the siege.[2]

After the failure at Soissons, Joan did not go with the archbishop to Senlis, but stopped with her own small following of soldiers at Crépy. Here she heard of the fall of Choisy and of the movements of Philip. The famous captains, like Saintrailles, whose advice of late she had been ready to follow, were no longer with her, but only one Bartholomew Barrette, a soldier of no great reputation, who had fought against Franquet at Lagny, and had about two hundred men in his command. Forced to choose between following the captains in their abandonment of Compiègne and acting upon her own impulse to fight for France wherever help was most needed, Joan did not hesitate, though

May 22, 1430.

[1] The father of Agnes Sorel was lord of Coudun. Steenackers, *Agnès Sorel*, 109.

[2] Sorel, 167; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxxiii.; Chastellain, ii. 39.

St. John's Day was only a month away. They told her that she had too few soldiers even to force her way through the Anglo-Burgundian outposts, some of which were already skirmishing on the east bank of the Oise. "By my staff, there are enough of us," she said. "I will go to see my good friends at Compiègne." She left Crépy at midnight, and reached Compiègne in safety at the dawn of Tuesday, May 23.[1]

May 23, 1430. An hour or two afterwards she went to mass in the church of St. James, close by her lodgings. Having confessed and communicated, she took her stand by one of the pillars of the church, and spoke to some of the townspeople, and to a crowd of children who gathered about her. Those who heard her used often to tell the story, until, more than sixty years afterwards, it was taken down from the lips of two old men who, as youths, had been in the church that morning. "My children and dear friends," so Joan said, according to the old men's story, "I tell you that they have sold and betrayed me, and that soon I shall be delivered to death. I beg you to pray God for me, since I shall never more have power to serve the king or the kingdom of France."[2] Probably the story was colored by the happenings of that afternoon. Joan's presentiment could hardly have been as definite as the story represents it, or she would not have gone out to battle on that very day. Beyond doubt, however, she was sad and disheartened, more for the cowardice of the captains who had abandoned Compiègne than by reason of her approaching capture.[3]

[1] Sorel, 333 ; P. iv. 32, Cagny.

[2] P. iv. 272. See Bouchart, *Chron. Bretagne*, 189. The story was taken down in 1498. One of the men is said to have been ninety-eight years old at the time, the other eighty-six. The age of the first was probably somewhat exaggerated.

[3] P. i. 116, J.'s test. P. iv. 438, St. Remy, and 443, Chastellain, assert the contrary, but doubtless only reflect Burgundian gossip.

From dawn until the middle of the afternoon Joan stayed in Compiègne, preparing for the sally which she was to lead. With whom originated the idea of a sally we do not know; it was not directly counseled by Joan's voices, and after the event Flavy had no desire to claim the plan as his own. The Anglo-Burgundians were many times as numerous as the garrison, and the chance of a successful battle was small. Perhaps only a reconnoissance was intended, perhaps Flavy wished to try the miraculous power of his new ally; it may be that Joan had a return of confidence at sight of the enemy, or it may be that the nervous strain which even she must have felt made her impatient to strike, and settle her fate. She was a girl but little over eighteen years old.

As has been said, the besieging forces on the opposite bank of the Oise lay in three camps,[1] the Picards directly in front of the town, the Flemings and Burgundians above, the English below. The French intended to strike at the centre; what they meant to do afterwards is not clear. Flavy ordered archers and men with arblasts to take post in high-sided boats, ranged along the east bank of the river under the walls of the town. These men, with the gunners on the walls, were to open fire upon the besiegers if they came within range, and to protect the retreat of Joan's force in case of its repulse.[2]

At four o'clock or thereabouts in the long May afternoon, Joan led out her small party. Richly dressed as usual, wearing a cloak of cloth of gold over her armor, she rode her dappled gray horse through the gate of the city[3] and across the bridge, and issued from the boulevard or fortification which covered its western end. With her were about five hundred soldiers. Half a mile back from the river was the Picard camp at Margny.

At once she led her men to the attack. The Picards

[1] Beside the reserves at Coudun. [2] P. v. 176.

[3] P. iv. 428; 438, St. Remy; 444, Chastellain.

were taken by surprise, many of them having no time to seize their arms. Thrown into confusion, some fled, others tried to rally.

The noise of the battle, as well as the arrival of fugitives, soon gave the alarm to the other divisions of the besiegers. At the time of the French sortie, John of Luxemburg, who commanded the Flemings at Clairoix, was riding with a small escort to visit the Picard commander. Seeing his peril, he dashed to his assistance, sending back at the same time to Clairoix for reinforcements.

At Margny the fighting went on with varying fortune, though the French seem to have had the best of it. Doubtless they were outnumbered, even by the Picards alone, but they made up for their weakness in numbers by the suddenness of their attack. It was otherwise when Luxemburg's soldiers from Clairoix fell upon their right flank. The odds became at least five to one against Joan; she charged upon the Burgundians and again beat them back, but the battle was going against her, and before long she was forced toward the boulevard. Her men began to waver and to cry out for retreat. Joan bade them be quiet, and told them that, if they would, they might still win a victory. Whether she believed what she said, or spoke only to encourage the troops, it is hard to tell.

While she was struggling against the Picards and Luxemburg, the English came up from their camp at Venette and fell upon her left flank and rear. The odds against her were become at least eight to one, and, worse than the hostile odds, the advancing English were mingled with the retreating French, so that the latter found it hard to get back into the boulevard, while Flavy's archers dared not shoot into the confused mass of friends and foes. Not unnaturally the French were panic-stricken, and saved themselves as best they might. Al-

most alone Joan minded her duty. "Passing the nature of woman," wrote a Burgundian chronicler, "she did great feats, and took great pains to save her company from loss, staying behind them like a captain, and like the bravest of the troop."[1]

As the fleeing soldiers rushed through the entrance of the boulevard, with the English pressing upon them, Flavy took fright for the safety of the town. If once the English should enter the boulevard, it would be hard to keep them from crossing the bridge into Compiègne itself. Though he could see Joan and a few others fighting in the rear of the fugitives, in order to cover their escape, he dared not wait for their arrival, but ordered the barriers to be closed. Perhaps he hoped that those who were shut out could swim across the river to the boats stationed along the city's walls. Some did so, but for a man in armor such an escape was hardly possible, especially as the English and Burgundians were crowding close. Seeing the barriers shut, and that she could not retreat directly into Compiègne, Joan tried to cut her way through the Burgundians into the meadows that bordered the Oise above the boulevard. Even had she succeeded, she could hardly have got clear of her enemies; but she did not succeed. They surrounded her, some snatching at her clothes, others grasping her bridle-rein, each one demanding that she should give up herself to him. "I have given myself to another than you, and to him I will keep my oath," she answered. A Picard archer, attached to the troop of the bastard of Wandonne, seized her by her brilliant cloak and dragged her from her horse. Her squire Aulon and one or two others tried to remount her, but they themselves were at once taken prisoners, while she was seized by Wandonne himself, anxious for such a booty.[2]

[1] P. iv. 446, Chastellain.

[2] For Joan's capture see P. i. 116, J.'s test.; iv. 34, Cagny; 92,

As soon as she was captured, Joan was taken to the Picard camp at Margny, from which she had been beaten off only an hour before. The battle was quite over; it would have been folly for Flavy to sally out and try to retake Joan, while the Burgundians were not ready to follow up their victory by an attempt to storm Compiègne. All rushed to Margny after their prisoner, shouting in three or four languages their delight at their unexpected success. Philip had just come up with the reserves, too late for the battle, just in time to hear the good news. He went at once to the place where Joan was held, and spoke with her for a little time; what they said, the Burgundian chronicler was too excited to remember, or, as is quite probable, did not care to repeat. Joan's capture ended her uncertainty, and relaxed the strain which her nerves had borne for more than a month. Its first effect may well have been to raise her spirits, and very likely she spoke to the duke as she had written to him a year before, words which the men of his party would prefer to forget. It was growing dark, and Philip soon went back to Coudun. Joan was given in charge to John of Luxemburg, and was taken to his quarters for the night.[1]

Since the capture of St. Pierre le Moustier, Joan's warfare had been a failure, broken only by the defeat of Franquet at Lagny. Her voices had spoken to her almost daily, and she had been as instant as ever in obeying them; indeed, her obedience had been more costly when they foretold her capture than when they spoke only of

J. Chartier ; 261 ; 401, Monstrelet ; 438, St. Remy ; 444, Chastellain ; 458, Fauquemberque ; v. 176 ; Quicherat, *Ap. nouv.*, 85 ; Sorel, 191. There seems no sufficient reason to suppose that Flavy betrayed Joan, though he may not have been very zealous for her safety.

[1] P. iv. 402, Monstrelet ; 447, Chastellain. The latter's account is evidently borrowed from that given by the former. See, also, Jean Jouffroy, *Chron. Belg. inéd.*, iii. 138; *Rev. Hist.*, t. xix. 64.

immediate success. But her voices did not make her a great general. Her theory of war, as far as she had a theory, consisted only in seeking out the enemy, wherever he might be, fighting him as soon as found, and never admitting the possibility of defeat. She had not expected that God would dispense with the need of human assistance. "If God wills to free the French, there is no need of the soldiers you ask for," one of her examiners had told her at Poitiers. "In God's name," she had answered, "the men at arms will fight, and God will give the victory." From St. Loup to Rheims the men at arms had fought, some of them, at least, in God's name, and they had had the victory. After Rheims they had seldom been allowed to fight either in God's name or in any other, and their enemies had generally gotten the victory. The more urgently Joan asked for men, or asked even permission to go against the English, the more hostile became La Trémoille and his friends, through fear lest her success should bring about their overthrow, and through very shame for their treachery which her demands forced them to expose. Just after her capture the archbishop wrote to the men of Rheims to tell them the news. He said that Joan had been taken because she would not listen to reason, but did everything to please herself. A young shepherd from the mountains of Gévaudan was come to the king, he added, who professed quite as much as Joan ever had done, to wit, that he had commandment to go with the king's soldiers, and that without doubt the English and Burgundians should be overthrown. The shepherd declared that God had allowed Joan to be taken, so the archbishop said, because of the pride with which she was puffed up, and because of the rich clothes which she wore : she had not done what God had bidden her, but had done her own will instead.[1]

[1] P. v. 168.

Rather more than a year afterward, the shepherd was taken prisoner, and was exhibited in Paris before he was dispatched, probably by drowning in the Seine.[1] There is no reason to suppose the half-crazy wretch responsible for his words about Joan; he merely repeated the lesson which the archbishop or La Trémoille had caused him to be taught.

[1] P. v. 169 et seq.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR JOAN'S PURCHASE.

In modern times the disposal of a prisoner of war belongs to the nation whose subjects make the capture. By the rules of war such a prisoner may be securely kept until peace is declared,[1] and thus he may be prevented from doing further injury to his captors. Ordinarily, he must be treated with no more harshness than is needed to secure his safe-keeping, and when the war is over he is freely released. In the Middle Ages the rules of war were quite different. A prisoner was the property of his captor, often very valuable property, and he usually regained his liberty, whether during the war or afterwards, only by payment of a ransom agreed upon between himself and his owner. In the mean time he might be bought for speculation,[2] he might be pledged to secure his captor's debts, or delivered in payment of them. If he was the favorite of his royal master, or if his services were greatly needed in war, he might hope to get a part of his ransom from the royal treasury, but, in most cases, to regain his liberty he must sell his estates, or beg or borrow from his friends. Until his ransom was paid, he was at his captor's disposal. Even in the Middle Ages it was considered hardly proper to maltreat severely a distinguished prisoner, unless for exceptional reasons, but it is clear that the prisoner owed his good

[1] In most cases, two nations at war with each other provide for an exchange of prisoners, but such an exchange cannot be insisted on as matter of right.

[2] See Quicherat, *Rodrigo de Villandrando*, 50.

treatment chiefly to his commercial value.[1] His death was the destruction of his captor's property, and so it came to pass that a prisoner of war, having means or importance, was usually treated with far less rigor and cruelty than seems natural to so harsh and cruel an age. A poor man or a common soldier was generally killed outright, or, if he were taken near his home, was sometimes tortured on the spot, until his family paid for his life whatever they had.

Five persons were concerned in Joan of Arc as a prisoner: the Picard archer, who pulled her from her horse; Lionel of Wandonne, in whose troop the archer served; John of Luxemburg, commanding the corps in which Lionel was a captain; Philip of Burgundy, commander-in-chief of the army; and Henry VI., in whose name the siege of Compiègne was carried on.

The Picard archer had no financial interest in the matter; whatever he did was done for his captain's hand. Just what was the relation between Wandonne and Luxemburg is not known, but Joan seems in some way to have become the property of them both. Very likely there was a written contract between them, providing for the division of the ransom which might be exacted from any prisoner. Such contracts were common.[2]

John of Luxemburg and Lionel of Wandonne were men of the age. Luxemburg was the younger son of a noble house, who had inherited a part of the ancestral estate, and by his ability had largely increased his possessions. He was fond of fighting, and had lost an eye in battle; was a skillful commander and a wary politician, not quite so fickle and faithless, perhaps, as some of his neighbors. There is no reason to suppose that he was cruel for cruelty's sake, but he was altogether ruth-

[1] See Beaurepaire, *Recherches sur le procès de condamnation de J.*, 29.

[2] See Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 44.

less and unscrupulous, ready to hang a captured garrison without mercy, or to kill a prisoner, if his interests required it. At this time he was about forty years old.[1]

The bastard of Wandonne held a much lower social position. Illegitimate sons of princely families, like the Bastard of Orleans or the Great Bastard of Burgundy, were favored men, but Lionel's father was himself obscure. The young man had long followed John of Luxemburg, and had been advanced by his master. Seven years before, he had distinguished himself in a tournament with one of the best French knights, both jousting and fighting on foot with a battle-axe. Some time afterwards, in a real battle, he had been severely wounded by the thrust of a lance, and so was lame of one arm. He was a hard-fighting soldier, not quite a brigand, inasmuch as he always followed Luxemburg's fortunes.[2]

For two or three days Joan was kept at Clairoix in Luxemburg's quarters.[3] The situation was too exposed for safety, however; the garrison might make another sortie, or Joan might escape. Wandonne was a poor man, and had no place fit for keeping so important a prisoner. Luxemburg was a great lord with many castles. The two captors apparently were well agreed; Joan was sent under strong escort some twenty miles northeast of Compiègne to Beaulieu, a stronghold belonging to Luxemburg of which Lionel seems to have

May–June, 1430.

[1] Vallet de Viriville, ii. 165 ; Gomart, *J. au château de Beaurevoir*, 185 ; Monstrelet, Bk. II. chaps. xv., cxi. ; and see Monstrelet generally, as he was in Luxemburg's service. One of John's prisoners had broken parole. The man's mother offered 6,000 crowns ransom, but Luxemburg cut off the delinquent's head and carried it on a spear to the door where the mother was waiting for her son. *Livre Trahisons*, 175.

[2] Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. viii. ; Fenin, ann. 1423.

[3] On May 26 Luxemburg moved from Clairoix to Margny. Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. lxxxviii. This may have been the occasion of sending Joan away, as Margny was even more exposed than Clairoix to an attack from Compiègne.

been captain; thus the rights of all parties were secured.[1] The life of a prisoner is not pleasant, and brutal soldiers can hardly have had much respect for a girl whom they believed to be an unsexed witch; but there is no reason to suppose that at Beaulieu Joan was treated with any especial cruelty. Undoubtedly she was a rich prize, and both her captors believed themselves in luck.[2]

The mediæval method of treating prisoners of war had one marked inconvenience, well illustrated by the case of Joan of Arc. Luxemburg and Wandonne both looked on her simply as a means of making money. That they might get their money she must be freed, and so allowed to rejoin the French forces in the field. This might be a matter of indifference to a soldier, or even to a general, but it was a serious matter to the English, who had suffered terribly from her prowess in the year just passed. For them it was necessary at all hazards to prevent her ransom, and no time was to be lost, as it seemed certain that Charles VII. would act at once.

To everybody the capture of Joan was a matter of interest, and on the evening of her capture the duke of Burgundy wrote to the men of St. Quentin and told them the great news, which exposed, he said, the mistaken and foolish belief of all those who had put faith in Joan's deeds.[3] That night or the next morning, John of Luxemburg wrote to his brother Louis, bishop of Thérouanne and chancellor of France for Henry VI.[4] The bishop was in Paris, the regent Bedford at Rouen, but the former did not wait for orders. He saw at once the danger of Joan's release, and acted within four and twenty hours.

To ask simply that Joan should not be held to ransom,

[1] P. iv. 402, Monstrelet; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. cclii. See Lafons de Mélicocq, *Une cité picarde au moyen age*, 105.

[2] Apparently she was attended by Aulon, her squire. P. iv. 35, Cagny.

[3] P. v. 166.

[4] P. iv. 458.

would be asking her captors to disregard almost universal custom. Some reason must be found for treating her differently from other prisoners, and such a reason was not far to seek. The authorities of the University of Paris, most of them Burgundian partisans, held conference with the vicar-general of the inquisitor of France, and a letter was sent off to Philip on May 26, only three days after Joan's capture. Written in the name of the vicar-general, it reminded the duke that all loyal Christian princes were bound to root out heresy, and to save simple Christian folk from scandal. It went on to rehearse that a certain woman named Joan, called by the enemies of the realm the Maid, had brought scandal upon the honor of God and upon holy religion, to the destruction of the souls of many simple Christians. This woman was in the duke's hands, or in the hands of his vassals. Wherefore the vicar-general begged the duke and the vassals aforesaid, acting as true guardians of the faith and defenders of God's honor, to send this Joan to him without delay. The letter concluded with a formal summons to all persons concerned, to bring Joan before the inquisitor and the University of Paris.[1]

In treating of the trial and condemnation of Joan, it is customary to speak of the accusation of witchcraft brought against her as if it had been a mere pretext, invented to accomplish her ruin. To suppose this, however, is to misconceive utterly the minds of men in the fifteenth century, and to attribute to them the knowledge of the nineteenth. To Joan's contemporaries, to Joan herself, witchcraft was a crime quite as real as larceny, and, being real, naturally much more dangerous to the community, and especially hateful to God. This no one thought of doubting. It might be difficult to persuade a very sensible man of the guilt of a particular person accused, and he might treat a given case as one of insan-

[1] P. i. 12.

ity or of imposture, while a credulous man would find witches at every turn; both believed with equal assurance that witchcraft was a reality.

To an Englishman or to a Burgundian partisan the evidence of witchcraft in Joan's case was overwhelming, and one of her enemies could hardly have thought her innocent. She had done great things, deeds too marvelous for the work of a simple peasant girl. All Europe was full of the wildest legends about her, and the English soldiers had seen with their own eyes quite enough to make these legends probable. Plainly she had gained her victories by the aid either of God or of the Devil. No man is willing to believe that God is against him, and so Joan's enemies set down her supernatural helper as the Devil without possibility of doubt. How much their belief was changed as they came to know her better, we shall consider hereafter, but, without seeing her, every one of them presumed, and presumed reasonably, that she was a witch.

Witch or no witch, neither Luxemburg nor Wandonne proposed to sell her except at a high price. The English council could hardly have expected that she should be presented to them as a gift, and the inquisitor's letter to Philip probably was not intended to accomplish the delivery of Joan to the English, but only to prevent her captors from putting her to ransom before the English had time to interfere. So far as is known, no particular attention was paid to the inquisitor's summons, and the agents of Henry VI. speedily began negotiations on a more substantial basis.

In the council which represented Henry in France were men of two sorts. There were Englishmen, trying to extend English power, sturdy patriots, some of them, even if mistaken ones. There were Frenchmen, members of the old Burgundian political party, who hated an Armagnac worse than they could possibly hate any for-

eigner. Throughout France party feeling had greatly abated, as has been said already, and most Frenchmen were coming to see that English rule was an impossibility, and that the hope of the country lay with the loyalists. The plainer this became, the more closely drew together the little band of anti-Armagnac politicians, the fierce and bitter defenders of a lost cause. Except for the savage mob of Paris, they had no popular support, and even the mob of Paris was beginning to waver. When an emissary was needed to negotiate for the purchase of Joan, he was naturally chosen, not from the English, but from this band of Anglo-Burgundian Frenchmen.

Peter Cauchon was born in Champagne of a family without particular distinction. He had been a hard student in the University of Paris, and had there taken his degree in arts and canon law. Having gained the respect of its authorities, he was named its Rector as early as 1403. A priest of learning, energy, and ability, as well as of correct life, he had filled important positions for many years. Firmly attached to the Burgundian party, he had been one of the commission appointed in 1413 to enforce the laws against the Armagnacs, and he had incited the Parisian mob to slaughter them. He had, therefore, been banished when the Armagnacs regained power, but had been protected both by John the Fearless and by Philip the Good, and by the former had been sent to the council of Constance, there to defend the righteousness of his patron's murder of the duke of Orleans. In time he rose to higher offices, and became vidame of Chartres and master of the court of requests. After the Burgundians had retaken Paris, he again stood high in the university, represented it at court, and was named its Conservator. Though a politician by choice, he received ecclesiastical preferment, being helped by Philip to the bishopric of Beauvais, and thus becoming one of the spiritual peers of France. Since the treaty of

Troyes, without neglecting his Burgundian friends, he had devoted himself especially to the English, and had labored incessantly for Henry VI. in his council and elsewhere. When Charles came to northern France in the summer of 1429, the people of Beauvais, Cauchon's episcopal city, rose against him and drove him out.[1] Thus humiliated, he sought the vacant archbishopric of Rouen, and had persuaded the privy council of England to recommend him for the place to the court of Rome. At the time of Joan's capture, he was probably between fifty and sixty years old.[2]

The character of Cauchon is manifested plainly by his career. Thoroughly worldly, a bitter partisan, he hated the followers of Charles VII. with a pitiless hatred, while he owed Joan in particular a hearty grudge for the loss of his diocese and its revenues. It needs no argument to prove that his belief in her possession by the Devil was sincere; and his tireless energy and eminent respectability made him a most suitable agent to treat for her surrender to the English.

Cauchon was a man of the world, and therefore not likely to believe that Luxemburg and Wandonne would give up their prisoner, even if a witch, without the payment of a good sum of money. Before long, at any rate, he began to bid for her purchase, just as other prisoners were bid for at that time, and just as stocks and houses are bid for to-day. Although he was offering money, he still laid stress upon Joan's witchcraft and heresy, thus seeking to cheapen the wares he was buying. Economy was not his only motive. While the charges made

[1] The people of Beauvais inserted in their litany this suffrage: "From the cruelty of the English, Good Lord deliver us." Péchenard, *Jean Juvénal*, 156.

[2] Cte. de Marsy, *Pierre Cauchon ;* Beaurepaire, *Notes sur les juges, etc., du procès de J.*, 12 ; Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 149, 152, 188, 192, 215, 386, 398, 404; Monstrelet, Bk. I. ch. ccxliii.; Vallet de V., *Charles VII.*, i. 313; Chapotin, *J. et les Dominicains*, 103.

against Joan, however sincerely believed, may at first have been nothing more than a pretext to get her into the hands of the English without paying full price for her, they soon had an additional purpose. If the English should secure her as an ordinary prisoner of war, she would be to them a constant embarrassment. They themselves could hardly refuse a reasonable offer for her ransom, and her name, though she were in captivity, might still arouse the enthusiasm of the French soldiers. The best thing the English could do with Joan was to discredit her. Believing her to be a witch, they wished to exhibit her as a witch to all Europe, and so discredit not only Joan herself, but the king and the cause she had served. The plan of trying Joan was formed very soon after her capture, though its details were not fixed until months afterwards. In the plan Cauchon had a peculiar interest. Joan had been taken within the limits of his diocese, and might be tried before his tribunal. In every way such a proceeding would be agreeable to him. He was ambitious and vindictive; by sitting as judge in one of the great trials of the age, he would both gain renown and gratify his wish for political and personal revenge. He seems to have entered heartily into the plans of his employers, having obtained, before beginning his labors, the promise of ample wages while engaged in the business.[1]

About July 12 he set out from Paris for Philip's headquarters, being well supplied with letters to the duke and Luxemburg. The University of Paris wrote to Philip, calling his attention to the fact that its former letters to him still remained unanswered, which neglect in correspondence the authorities of the university attributed to the deceitful wiles of the Evil One, and to the subtlety of the duke's enemies, who were craftily laboring to get Joan out of his hands. The July, 1430.

[1] P. v. 194; Beaurepaire, *Recherches sur le procès de J.*, 16.

university prayed God that this might not happen, for the true faith had never received so great a hurt, nor within the memory of man had so mighty a danger and injury come to the realm, as would arise from her escape by these damnable means. After complimenting the religious zeal of Philip and his ancestors, the letter begged him to deliver Joan either to the inquisitor or to the bearer, the Reverend Father in God, my Lord Bishop of Beauvais, and so to act for the glory of God, the advancement of the true faith, the profit of all good Catholics, the welfare of the realm, and the duke's own honor.[1]

The letter of the university to John of Luxemburg was much like that sent to Philip. The count was thanked for his great service in taking Joan, and was reminded of his knightly oath to defend God's honor, the Catholic faith, and Holy Church. He, too, was warned that his enemies were trying to deliver Joan by craft and, which would be still more shameful, by way of purchase or ransom. The danger of delay was pointed out, and Luxemburg was summoned to deliver her instantly to the inquisitor or to the bishop, in order that God might be pleased and the people be duly edified.[2]

These pious admonitions were meant to add weight to the formal written demand made upon Philip, Luxemburg and Wandonne by Cauchon himself. This document made slight mention of the nobility of Joan's captors; in pretty straightforward fashion the bishop made his offer. In King Henry's name and in his own, he demanded that the woman, commonly called Joan the Maid, be delivered up to the king, so that she might be tried by the church for witchcraft and idolatry. Considering the charges made against her, she ought not to be accounted a prisoner of war, the letter continued, yet as

[1] P. i. 8.

[2] P. i. 10. It is stated that this letter bore date July 14, but probably that was the date of its delivery to Luxemburg. See P. i. 14.

a recompense to those who had taken her Henry VI. would freely give six thousand pounds, and an annuity to Wandonne of two or three hundred besides. So eager was Cauchon, or his English employer, that he did not wait to find out whether his terms were accepted or not; in another paragraph of the same document he made a larger offer. By the custom of France, if a king or prince was made prisoner, the sovereign whose soldiers had captured him could buy him for the fixed sum of ten thousand pounds. If Luxemburg and the rest were not content with the first offer, so Cauchon's letter ran, then, although Joan's capture was not like the capture of a king or prince, yet in order to buy her the bishop was willing to give them proper security for the ten thousand pounds. All these letters were publicly handed over to the duke and to Luxemburg in the presence of many nobles and officers, and the notary whom Cauchon had brought with him from Paris made due record of the fact.[1] It seems that no definite answer was made at the time; John of Luxemburg may have been willing to sell Joan for ten thousand pounds, but he wished to see the ready money.

Some of the letters to Philip and Luxemburg mentioned efforts made by the French to ransom Joan. The writers undoubtedly believed that the efforts had been made, as they were reasonably to be expected from the French court; nevertheless, the fear of ransom was quite uncalled for. Neither the king nor his council, nor any of his captains, so far as can be discovered, ever made the slightest attempt to save her. She had, of course, no money of her own; poor as Charles was, he used to spend on his favorites many times the sum needed to ransom her, yet he never offered a pound. The plans of the English soon became evident; they never pretended that they meant to treat Joan as a prisoner of war, yet the French

[1] P. i. 13, 14.

authorities did not even protest against her treatment. During the months that her trial lasted, they kept quiet. English prisoners were in their hands and retaliation was not impossible, yet they did not even threaten it.[1] From the time of her capture to her death, there came to Joan from the king she had crowned, from the council whose orders she had obeyed, and from the captains with whom she had served, not a word or a sign. Except for a few of her enemies who came at last to pity her, she was left alone. She lived and died as if king and court and soldiers and the French nation had ceased to exist at the moment of her capture, and as if there were left to her none but enemies.

Nothing can make the conduct of the French brave or honorable, but there is much to explain it. Charles had fallen back into the cowardly imbecility from which Joan had half roused him only for a moment. At no time had he will enough to give him control of his own actions. La Trémoille and his followers had passed from indifference to suspicion, and from suspicion to dislike, until they had come to hate Joan with a hatred meaner than that of Cauchon.[2] As to Alençon, the Bastard, La Hire, and the rest, they knew that it was hopeless to attempt Joan's rescue by force of arms, and they weakly left the way of negotiation to the court.[3] They had been taught that the Devil was exceedingly crafty, and they may have been awed by the haunting fear that Joan was a witch after all. Among the common people she was not quite forgotten. In a remote part of France, in Dauphiny, these prayers were offered in her behalf: —

[1] See Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 178. Charles was at Sens in August and September. In the following winter he was at Chinon. See Beaucourt, ii. 268, 277, 430.

[2] See *Rev. Hist.*, t. xix. 62.

[3] There is no reason to suppose that the capture of Louviers by La Hire in October was any part of an attempt to rescue Joan. See Beaucourt, ii. 255 ; Vallet de V., *Charles VII.*, ii. 244.

"Almighty and everlasting God, who of Thine unspeakable mercy and marvelous goodness hast caused a virgin to arise for the uplifting and preservation of France and for the confusion of its enemies, and hast permitted her by their hands to be cast into prison, as she labored to obey Thy holy commandments; Grant unto us, we beseech Thee, through the intercession of the ever blessed Virgin and all the Saints, that she may be delivered from their power unhurt, and finally may accomplish the same work which Thou hast commanded her.

"Give ear, Almighty God, to the prayers of Thy people, and through the sacrament of which we have partaken, and by the intercession of the ever blessed Virgin and all the Saints, break in pieces the fetters of the Maid, who labored to perform the work which Thou hadst appointed her, and now by our enemies is held in prison. Grant that she by Thy goodness and mercy may go forth to finish unhurt that which remains for her to accomplish, through Jesus Christ our Lord."[1]

The prayers of the people of Dauphiny were unknown to Joan. For a year she lived in prison, for many months in constant physical distress, at nearly every moment of the day and night in danger of the foulest indignity and outrage, for weeks in daily danger of the rack, daily subjected to the keenest mental torture which experts could devise, with death at the end. During all this time, her every word and act were watched by the shrewdest of her enemies, eager to catch her in error by fair means or by foul, and more than once these enemies believed themselves successful. It is plain, at any rate, that Joan's successes from her capture to her death were not helped by generals or soldiers, by friends or enthusiastic crowds. As to the aid of man, she stood alone.

[1] Lanéry d'Arc, *Culte de J.*, 25. It is said that there were public prayers and a procession at Tours in the week which followed J.'s capture. See P. v. 253.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BEAUREVOIR.

LITTLE is known of Joan's life at Beaulieu, where she was kept for some weeks. The siege of Compiègne continued and, quite naturally, the prisoners were entertained by their warders with reports of the progress made by the Burgundians. Aulon, Joan's squire, was still with her. Becoming discouraged, he said to her one day: "That poor town of Compiègne, which you loved so well, is to be handed over this time to the enemies of France." Joan was not disheartened so easily. "It shall not be," she said; "for none of the places which the King of Heaven by my means has put into the hands of the gentle king Charles shall be retaken by his enemies, if he will but be diligent in guarding them."[1] The proviso is characteristic of Joan. Firmly as she trusted in the aid of Heaven, she was far too practical to believe that it dispensed with the need of the utmost human effort.

June–October, 1430.

While she was at Beaulieu, the negotiations for her purchase nearly had an unexpected end. Joan almost escaped. She was shut up in a tower of the castle, apparently in a chamber closed by planking. Perhaps the boards were hurriedly fastened together; in some way or other she slipped out between two of them, and the way of escape seemed clear. She was about to bolt the door, so as to shut up her warders in the tower, when the porter appeared, and she was taken back to prison.[2]

Her attempt had come so near success that John of

[1] P. iv. 35, Cagny. [2] P. i. 163, J.'s test.

Luxemburg would let her stay in Beaulieu no longer, but removed her to Beaurevoir, his principal castle. This was in Picardy, a fortress recently built or enlarged, with high walls, great towers, and a deep moat. In one of the towers Joan was confined.[1]

At this time Luxemburg's wife and aunt were living in Beaurevoir. Some twelve years earlier he had married Joanna of Béthune, the rich widow of Robert of Bar. Throughout her life the countess was well disposed to the royalists, and her first husband, killed in fighting the English at Agincourt, had been the feudal overlord of Domremy.[2] Luxemburg's maiden aunt, commonly called the demoiselle of Luxemburg, was an elderly woman having a great reputation for sanctity. Though she was willing to accept a pension from the English, it is not likely that she took their side very strongly.[3]

When Joan was brought to the castle, these ladies, like the rest of the Anglo-Burgundian world, undoubtedly believed her to be a witch. After they came to know her, their curiosity and horror were turned to pity. Her dress, directly forbidden by Scripture, greatly shocked them, and they tried to persuade her to change it, offering to give her a woman's dress, or cloth out of which to make one. She was grateful for their kindness, and would have yielded to them, as she afterwards said, sooner than to any other ladies in France, except her queen. She answered them, however, that she had not God's leave to change her dress, and also that the time for changing it was not yet come.[4]

Thus favored by the ladies of Luxemburg, Joan's imprisonment at Beaurevoir was probably less harsh than any she suffered before or afterwards, but an incident in

[1] See Gomart, *J. au château de Beaurevoir.*

[2] Vallet de V., ii. 172 ; Gomart, 190 ; Fenin, ann. 1423.

[3] Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. (535).

[4] P. i. 95, 96, J.'s test.

it, known almost by chance, shows what was her life in prison, even at its best. Among the retainers of John of Luxemburg was Haimond of Macy, a squire then living at Beaurevoir. Either he was one of Joan's warders, or he was often sent to her by his master; in any case, he was curious to see her and to talk with her. Macy was a rough young soldier; Joan, even if a witch, was a young girl to whom, on account of her position and supposed character, he owed no respect. Often, as he testified, he used to hustle her in joke, and, though she kept him off as well as she could, he would thrust his hands into her bosom, that he might feel of her breasts, probably in mere wanton jest, without intending further violence. How far Joan wore men's clothes in direct obedience to her heavenly voices, how far in human prudence to keep herself from violence, how far as the only means of obeying a divine command to keep herself a virgin, it is not possible to say. Very likely all motives guided her, and her answer to the ladies of Luxemburg, that the time had not come for changing her dress, may well have been made after a struggle with Haimond of Macy or with another of her keepers. Even upon Macy she made an impression. Twenty-five years afterwards, he was summoned to tell what he knew about her. The depositions of nearly all the other witnesses called at the same time, after recording their answers to the questions asked, close with the words, "And the witness knows nothing further." Macy's deposition, after answering the usual questions concerning Joan, ends thus: "And the witness believes that she is in paradise." [1]

While Joan was held at Beaurevoir, Cauchon urged forward the negotiations for her purchase. He was very busy over the matter, though it is not known what means of persuasion he used, beyond the offer of money. Early

[1] P. iii. 121, Macy.

in August died the duke of Brabant,[1] cousin of Philip of Burgundy, who at once gave Luxemburg charge of the siege of Compiègne and started to take possession of his kinsman's estates. So earnest was the bishop that he could not wait for the duke's return, but posted after him, apparently to secure his consent to the proposed bargain. The inheritance of Brabant was disputed; Philip's aunt claimed a part of it, but yielded when she recognized the greatly superior strength of her nephew. Perhaps Cauchon assured Philip that the English would support his pretensions; at any rate, the succession was peacefully settled. The duke got the lion's share, and another part was secured to the old demoiselle of Luxemburg, from whom John was sure presently to inherit.[2] These matters may or may not have affected the fate of Joan; at about the time they were arranged the bargain for her sale was completed. Her price was fixed at ten thousand pounds, the larger sum mentioned by Cauchon in his letter to Luxemburg, but ten thousand pounds in hard money, and not a bond for ten thousand, as Cauchon had proposed. Beside this price, an annuity was secured to Wandonne.[3]

The bargain once completed, the English were in no hurry to pay the price, as ten thousand pounds in ready money was a sum not easily come at. The English treasury was none too full, and Henry's council did not propose to take Joan's price out of it. Henry was king of France as well as of England. Joan had rebelled against him in France, and, so far as was possible, France should bear the cost of putting down the rebellion. Toward the end of August the estates of the province of

[1] He died on August 4, and the news of his death reached Philip of Burgundy on August 15. Beaucourt, ii. 38, n.; St. Remy, ch. clxi.

[2] See Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. xciii.; P. v. 194.

[3] P. iii. 134, Manchon.

Normandy were summoned to meet at Rouen, and thereupon were asked to grant one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, of which sum ten thousand pounds were especially appropriated "to the payment of the price of Joan the Maid, who is said to be a witch." The grant was voted, early in September the tax was assessed, and throughout the autumn of 1430 its collection went on; apparently the money did not come in very freely.[1]

Joan was not kept in ignorance of the plans for her sale. When Macy joked with her, he probably amused himself by threatening her with the English. Once, at least, Cauchon himself came to Beaurevoir,[2] and Joan could follow step by step the progress of his negotiations. To be delivered into the hands of the English seemed the most horrible fate that could befall her. She knew well how they feared and hated her, and, while she hardly hated them in return, for she seems to have been really incapable of hating any one, yet she dreaded them with the vague horror then felt for men of a hostile race and an unknown tongue. As time went on, and her sale became an assured fact, she was fearfully distressed.

She appealed to her voices, but even the comfort they gave her could not calm her. For more than eighteen years she had lived an active life out of doors, and the confinement wore upon her nerves. Beside confinement and insult and fear of the English, she was sick at heart over the news from Compiègne. Closer and closer did John of Luxemburg press the siege, and every Burgundian advance, every success of the besiegers was rehearsed to her, doubtless with exaggeration. The city would soon be taken, so they told her, and then all the dwellers in it, from seven years old and upwards, would be put to the sword or burned in its destruction. In her distress

[1] P. v. 178; Beaurepaire, *Etats de Normandie sous la domination anglaise*, 40.

[2] P. v. 194.

she cried to St. Catherine and St. Margaret, "How can God leave to perish these good people of Compiègne, who have been so faithful to their lord?"

From the tower in which she was imprisoned she could look out over the country. As her distress increased, she was seized with a desire to throw herself from this tower, either through a window or from the top of it, where she may have been allowed to walk. The height was great, yet there was a slight chance of reaching the ground in safety, and so of escaping and bringing help again to her good friends in Compiègne. That the fall should kill her was at least probable, but rather than be in the hands of the English, she preferred to die.

As in every other action of her life, so in this, she took counsel of her voices, and it is noteworthy that, morbid and nervous as was her condition, they firmly and persistently forbade her to throw herself from the tower. Day after day she appealed to them, and always received the same answer. God would aid both her and the men of Compiègne, so the voice of St. Catherine told her. "Since God will aid the people of Compiègne, I would I were there," said Joan. "You must take what comes to you without repining, for you shall not be delivered until you have seen the English king," she heard the voice reply. For once the poor girl's will rebelled against her heavenly visitors. "I do not wish to see him. I would rather die than fall into the hands of the English," she cried in her distress.

The long struggle between her wishes and her counselors came to an end. Hearing, it may be, some fresh piece of bad news, dizzied, perhaps, by looking over the sheer walls of the tower, and unaccustomed to stand in high places, she commended herself to God and our Lady and jumped. The shock stunned her; when she came to her senses, she was again in the hands of her captors. No bones were broken, but she was badly shaken, and

for two or three days could hardly eat or drink. To her physical suffering and her old mental distress there was now added remorse for her sin in disobeying the command of God. St. Catherine soon came to her, however, and bade her confess her sin and ask God's pardon for it; then the voice comforted Joan, told her to be of good cheer, and promised that she should get well. As to the city of Compiègne, that should certainly be delivered before Martinmas. On hearing these things, Joan gave up her wish of dying, took heart, and began to eat; soon she was completely recovered. By the command of St. Catherine she confessed her sins to the priest and asked God's forgiveness; having done this, she was assured by the saint that she was forgiven.

This conduct of Joan shows plainly the healthiness of her temper and of her religion. Though she had a faint hope of escaping alive, she knew quite well that to jump from the tower offered no reasonable chance of escape, except by death. Neither before nor after her leap, in spite of her nervous distress, did she ever pretend to herself or to others that she had a right thus to take her life in her hands. Having taken it, and thus having committed sin, she never sought to justify herself. On the other hand, neither to herself nor to others would she exaggerate her offense. The temptation had been great, she had yielded to it, had confessed her wrongdoing, and had been forgiven. Thereafter she let no one trouble her in the matter.[1]

Not long afterwards, the English were ready to complete their purchase of Joan, and Luxemburg was called upon to deliver his prisoner. In the latter part of October, Joan was sent from Beaurevoir to Arras, where, as it seems, Philip of Burgundy then held his court.[2] Apparently, she was still in the hands of the Burgundians,

[1] P. i. 110, 150, 160, 169, J.'s test.
[2] Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 164.

and was still treated as a prisoner of war. Some of the duke's company begged her to put on women's clothes, and again she refused.[1] A little later she was sent from Arras to Le Crotoy, at the mouth of the river Somme, a strong fortress which for about seven years had been held by the English.[2] According to tradition, she was visited on her journey by many people, partly out of curiosity, partly from sympathy.[3] Either at Arras or Le Crotoy, or at some place between the two, the English took their prisoner and paid their money.[4]

It seems that the demoiselle of Luxemburg protested against Joan's sale to the English,[5] and her nephew's act has generally been considered to involve the basest treachery. The kind old woman's attempt to save from suffering and death a poor girl whom she pitied is of a piece with what is known of the rest of her life; but the count's act did not transgress the morality of his age. A prisoner, as has been said, was a security for a sum of money, and could be assigned to another person with as little impropriety as that involved in the assignment of a modern mortgage. It is true that the count more than suspected that Joan's purchasers would not treat her as a prisoner of war, but this can hardly be taken as adding to his guilt. He would not have considered himself responsible for the misuse of property fairly sold, and he

[1] See P. i. 95, 96, J.'s test. John of Pressy, whose name is mentioned by Joan, seems to have left Arras on an embassy to England on November 4. Stevenson, *Wars Eng.*, ii. 164 (531, 536). He was at Rouen November 24. Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 17.

[2] Vallet de V., i. 396.

[3] See P. v. 358 et seq.

[4] The money for Joan's purchase was repaid to the keeper of the royal chest by the receiver-general of Normandy on December 6. It was therefore paid to Luxemburg before that time. Apparently the keeper of the chest advanced the cash about October 24. See P. v. 190.

[5] P. i. 231.

may well have believed Joan's sale to be an act positively virtuous, commended as it was by the authorities of the church and by those learned in the law. There is no reason to suppose that he was not ready to sell Joan to the highest bidder. After Charles VII. had let several months go by without even making him an offer for her, Luxemburg can hardly be blamed for selling her elsewhere. To accuse him of betraying her is to imply that loyalty to Charles's cause was his moral duty, an implication which the confused condition of France makes absurd. Whether it be right to treat as betrayal the course of the French court, which, having been saved by Joan from ruin, let her be sold to the English and by them burnt for a witch, without even a diplomatic protest, is quite another question. John of Luxemburg was a hard-fighting nobleman, rather savage and brutal, but essentially like others of his class, neither much better nor much worse.

On October 24, probably while Joan was at Arras, a French army under Boussac and Vendôme marched to the relief of Compiègne; on the following day it found itself face to face with John of Luxemburg, who had drawn up his troops to cover the approach to the city. While the two armies were thus observing each other, the garrison and citizens of Compiègne sallied out in Luxemburg's rear and stormed one of the forts which he had built to blockade the place, being assisted by a detachment which the French generals had ordered to pass around his flank. By this manœuvre the French were able to enter Compiègne, and, having done so, crossed the river by boat and stormed other forts erected near the place where Joan had been taken prisoner. So completely were the operations of the besiegers broken up that the English captains would remain no longer, and forced Luxemburg to withdraw, "much displeased at heart, though he could not help it." This ending of the

siege, five months after Joan's capture, fulfilled the promise of her voices, which had foretold the delivery of Compiègne before Martinmas, the eleventh of November.[1]

[1] Sorel, *Prise de J. devant Compiègne*, 255 et seq., and authorities cited; Monstrelet, Bk. II. ch. xcvi.

CHAPTER XIX.

ROUEN.

Nov.–Dec., 1430.

Now that Joan was bought and paid for, and safely in their hands, the English were free to act on the theory that she was a witch, or to treat her as a prisoner of war. For a short time they seemed to hesitate, and kept her at Le Crotoy, where she was allowed to confess to the chancellor of Amiens, himself a prisoner of some distinction, and to attend the masses which he celebrated in the castle.[1] The hesitation of the English angered the authorities of the University of Paris, fierce partisans as they were, and on November 21 they wrote both to Cauchon and to Henry VI.

"We greatly wonder, reverend father," they wrote to the bishop, "that the dispatch of this woman, vulgarly called the Maid, has been so long put off, to the injury of the faith and of the church's jurisdiction, and our wonder is the greater now that she is, as we hear, in the hands of the king. Perchance if your Grace had shown keener diligence in this matter, the cause of the said woman would already have been brought before the ecclesiastical courts. With the utmost diligence, therefore, your Grace's zeal should be directed to prevent the authority of the church from suffering greater injury by longer delay in this matter." They further begged Cauchon to arrange for Joan's trial in Paris, "where there is a great number of wise and learned men, so that her cause can be quickly heard and properly decided to the enlightenment of Christian people and to the glory of God."[2]

[1] P. iii. 121, Macy. [2] P. i. 15.

The letter to Henry VI. was not quite so sharp in its tone, but its substance was the same. The king was reminded of his duty to put down heresy; several earlier letters on the subject, written to him by the university, were recalled to his attention, and he was begged to hand Joan over to the bishop and to the inquisitor-general, that she might be tried by them and punished as she deserved. Paris, he was told, was the place best suited to her trial, both on account of the learned men who lived there, and also because her punishment should be inflicted in the place where her crimes had been committed.[1]

It has been suggested that these letters were procured by Cauchon and the English council,[2] in order to justify themselves for the course which they afterwards followed. No doubt the letters served as a justification of Joan's trial, but they were probably written in good faith, for Cauchon would hardly have dictated a rebuke as sharp as that which was sent him. The University of Paris was proud of its orthodoxy, and had gained in France no small part of the authority which in some other countries belonged to the Inquisition.[3] Bitterly prejudiced against Joan, it longed to have her in its hands, and, with the other authorities of Paris, it had spared no pains to stir up the people of the city against her. On September 3 a Breton woman had been burned to death, after a sermon rehearsing her crimes had been preached to the crowd which had gathered for the show. The poor creature believed that God had visited her, and she had dared to say that Joan was a good girl, doing good and obeying God's will.[4] The conduct of the university during

[1] P. i. 17. Henry VI. arrived at Rouen July 29, 1430. See Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 14; Cochon, *Chron. Normande*, 312.

[2] For the English council at this time, see Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 17. Bedford was absent from Rouen throughout the trial. Ib., 65 et seq.

[3] See Lea, *Hist. Inquisition*, ii. 135.

[4] P. iv. 467, *Journ. Bourg.*; Quellien, *Une compagne de J.* Certain

Joan's trial showed that it needed no urging to take sides against her.

Thus pressed by the university and probably also by Cauchon, the English were perplexed. As has been said already, if they carried Joan to England and kept her there as a prisoner of war, they would greatly irritate the only real friends left to them in France, and they would leave themselves under the imputation of having opposed the will of God as declared by his messenger. Even if they should secretly put Joan to death in prison, they would not destroy the glory which she and her visions had brought to the French arms. That could be done only by proving her to be the messenger of Satan.[1]

To try her for a witch, on the other hand, was no simple matter. If the trial were held in England, the decision of the court would lose much of its proper effect; there was reason in the remark of the university, that the fitting place for Joan's punishment and disgrace was that in which her crimes had been committed. To try her in Paris, however, was out of the question. She was safe in Le Crotoy, an impregnable fortress; the road between that place and Paris was long and beset by the French.[2] The English councilors could hardly believe that Charles VII. was willing to leave Joan to her fate without a struggle, and they dreaded her rescue by her friends, either her old companions in arms, or her supposed master, Satan. Moreover, Paris was largely in the control of the duke of Burgundy, as Henry's lieutenant,

amiably patriotic Bretons have tried to make a heroine of the poor wretch, but the material is too scanty.

[1] See P. iv. 353, Basin.

[2] See Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 67. It is possible, of course, that Joan's trial was planned soon after her capture; but the letters of the university and the general drift of the evidence seem to me to indicate that the English policy took definite form long afterwards.

and, after buying Joan for themselves with a great price, the English were not ready to let her fall again into Philip's hands. She could not be tried in Normandy before English judges. Only the clergy of the province had the necessary jurisdiction, and few Englishmen had been preferred to Norman benefices, though Normandy had been a conquered country for more than ten years.[1]

The trial of Joan, then, to be both safe and effective, must be held in Normandy before French judges. To give it proper importance, to make her condemnation decisive in the eyes of the world, the trial must be solemn and imposing, carried on with due appearance of fairness.[2] Cauchon was a man well fitted to preside over it, but a number of other men like-minded with Cauchon were needed to sit with him. Such men were not very numerous.

Mention has been made already of the little body of politicians to which he belonged, the Burgundian partisans who were more Burgundian than the duke himself, and who hated the Armagnacs so fiercely that their utter fidelity to the English followed as matter of course. Among the Norman ecclesiastics there were a few who belonged to this party, but most of the clergy of the province were of a temper quite different. To most Normans, English rule was an accepted fact. They had no intention of revolting against their rulers; revolt had been tried, and had ended in disaster. The English had made some show of consulting them in the government of the province, had called together its estates, had protected some of its liberties, and had installed comparatively few English officials. For all this, the Normans did not greatly love their new rulers. Norman soldiers could not be trusted in battle, and English captains were forbidden to enroll in their companies any Frenchmen except those

[1] See Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 57.

[2] See Varanius, ed. Prarond, 101.

from Bordeaux and its neighborhood, a district as loyal as Kent or Norfolk.[1] The people of Normandy would make no attempt to rescue Joan, and the clergy would not interfere to prevent her trial and condemnation, but there was reason to fear that neither people nor clergy would be zealous in condemning her.[2]

In this state of affairs, the English might well hesitate, but they decided to take the risk, and to send Joan to Rouen for trial before Cauchon. Upon his zeal they could rely; the inquisitor, who should sit with him, was not ill-disposed toward them, and the opinion of the University of Paris could at any time be taken and used to overcome the scruples of doubting Norman assessors.

After a short stay at Le Crotoy, Joan was therefore sent to Rouen, probably in the first days of December. Like other cities, Rouen had its citadel or castle,[3] a fortress built by Philip Augustus, close to the city's walls, but protected by its own walls, ditch, and towers, and able to stand a siege even after the capture of the city. Joan was imprisoned near the postern gate in one of these towers, a great mass of masonry one hundred feet high and something over forty feet in diameter, with walls twelve feet thick. The room was nearly dark, feebly lighted[4] by a slit just wide enough to shoot an arrow through, or receiving, perhaps, all its light and air through the doorway.[5] Here she was closely watched by

[1] Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 35. French inroads into Normandy made severe repression necessary, and thus rendered English rule unpopular.

[2] The Norman clergy inclined to follow the council of Basle rather than the pope, thus agreeing with the French rather than with the English. Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 47.

[3] Warwick was captain. Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 24.

[4] P. ii. 302, La Pierre.

[5] I confess that I cannot interpret more particularly the testimony concerning the place of confinement, and I find M. Bouquet's explanations more incomprehensible than that of the original witnesses.

half a dozen common soldiers, who had both the leisure and the disposition to mock her, to taunt her with the certainty of impending death, and to threaten her with every sort of violence, which they seem occasionally to have attempted.[1]

Joan had almost escaped between the planks of her prison at Beaulieu, and so the confinement just described was considered insufficient. The English caused to be made an iron cage in which she could be held sitting upright, chained by her neck, her hands, and her feet.[2] It is not certain that this fearful instrument of torture was put into use. During most of her imprisonment only her feet were fettered, the chains that held them being attached to another chain which passed between the legs of her bedstead, and was locked to a heavy wooden beam.[3] Her irons were taken off only when she was brought into court. Harsh treatment like this had an object beyond safe-keeping or the gratification of spite; a trial for sorcery and witchcraft was not completely successful without the confession of the accused,[4] and that was most easily obtained either by judicial torture or by ill treatment in prison. A confession Cauchon and the English were determined to get.

Left to her chains and her warders, seeing no human faces but those of her enemies, Joan called upon her voices, and daily and nightly the saints visited her. They

Saintrailles, who was confined in another tower of the castle about a year later, was kept in one of the casemates by a barricade which closed its inner opening, the outer opening being too small to admit his escape. See Bouquet, *J. au château de Rouen;* ib., *Notice historique sur le donjon du château de Philippe-Auguste.*

[1] P. iii. 161, Colles; 59, Courcelles; 122, Macy; 147, Manchon; 154, Massieu; ii. 7, Ladvenu; 18, Massieu; 298, Manchon.

[2] P. ii. 306, 346; iii. 180, Cusquel; iii. 155, Massieu.

[3] P. ii. 18, Massieu; 306, Cusquel; 318, Taquel; iii. 48, Tiphaine; 200, Daron.

[4] See p. 259, infra.

promised her deliverance, not in any particular manner or at any fixed time, but deliverance somehow for herself and for France, and they assured her of God's care and love. Having this promise and assurance, she bore her captivity with brave and unbroken spirit.

Various proceedings must be had before her trial could be begun.[1] As soon as it was determined upon, Cauchon caused an inquiry to be made at Domremy and thereabouts concerning Joan's way of life as a child and as a girl. That this should be possible in a French village like Domremy is unaccountable, unless the political confusion of eastern France is borne in mind. Joan's triumphs had not reached the valley of the Meuse. In October, 1429, soon after the retreat to the Loire, while Philip of Burgundy was wavering in his allegiance, Bedford had made him lieutenant, not only of Paris, but of pretty much all eastern France.[2] In that part of the country the English and French, the partisans of Burgundy and the partisans of Charles VII., held at the end of 1430 much the same position they had held at the beginning of 1429, when Joan set out for Chinon. During the summer of 1430, indeed, one of Charles's generals had carried on a successful war in Champagne,[3] but on the borders of Lorraine the Anglo-Burgundians were masters of nearly everything except Vaucouleurs.

Cauchon's instructions were addressed, as it seems, to John of Torcenay, bailiff of Chaumont, in which bailiwick Domremy was situated. Torcenay had held his office for some years, and was a stanch hater of all Armagnacs. He sent to Domremy the provost of Montes-

[1] According to Basin, P. iv. 351, the discussion in the English council about Joan's trial took place after her arrival in Rouen. Basin was then a young student in Paris, and the account in the text is more probable.

[2] Beaucourt, ii. 35, n.

[3] Beaucourt, ii. 38.

clar and one Bailly, a notary, who then and there summoned twelve or fifteen witnesses and took their depositions. The provost and the notary stayed a short time at Domremy in the house of a peasant, and learned what they could. It is impossible to say if any of Joan's family were then living in the village. Those of the neighbors who would not testify willingly were generally let alone, for delay was dangerous with Baudricourt and the garrison of Vaucouleurs near at hand. The depositions were duly authenticated and were dispatched to the bailiff.

The notary and the provost, as it appears, were honest men, possibly not over zealous in the cause of England and Burgundy. What they learned at Domremy was in no way discreditable to Joan, and had no tendency to prove her a witch. When this was pointed out to them, however, they stoutly affirmed that they had taken down the statements of the witnesses correctly, at which reply the bailiff became very angry and called them traitor Armagnacs. There was nothing to do, however, but to send the depositions to Cauchon, and let him treat them as he would. They reached Rouen about New Year's day.[1]

The jurisdiction which Cauchon claimed over Joan rested upon the fact that she had been taken prisoner within the bounds of his diocese of Beauvais. This was deemed sufficient to give him jurisdiction over the accused, and over her crimes wherever committed; but, under ordinary circumstances, his tribunal should have sat within the limits of his own diocese. To try Joan at Beauvais was impossible, however, as the bishop had been driven out of the place by the patriotic feeling which she had stirred up. To hold his court in the archdiocese of Rouen, he must get leave from the diocesan authorities.

[1] P. i. 27; ii. 378 et seq.; 441, Lebuin; 453, Bailly; 462, Jaquard; iii. 192, Moreau. For Torcenay, see Luce, 111, 188, 219, 220, 223.

John of La Rochetaillée, the last archbishop, had been translated to Besançon about a year before, and it devolved upon the chapter of the cathedral to administer the diocese during the vacancy.

The chapter of Rouen was a body of considerable independence of judgment. None of the canons actively sympathized with the royalist cause, few of them were strong partisans of Henry VI., most of them belonged to that almost neutral party which has been mentioned already. The chapter had no great love for Cauchon. It had quarreled with the last archbishop and had forced him to agree not to come to Rouen without its consent, which consent he had hardly once obtained; in this quarrel Cauchon had meddled. He wished to become the next archbishop, and had gained the recommendation of the English; the canons had another candidate. Bedford had got permission from the pope to levy a tax of thirty thousand pounds on the clergy of Normandy and had charged Cauchon with its collection; in this the bishop had been so zealous that the clergy had appealed from him to the pope.[1]

In spite of their want of friendliness, the canons could hardly resist Cauchon's demand, not unreasonable in itself, and backed by English influence. Some of them, though Frenchmen, owed their seats to English nomination. Only two months before, on his recovery from a severe illness, the regent Bedford himself, a man of religion and of high character according to the standard of the times, had asked and obtained admission to a canonry. Accompanied by his wife, he had been received with great pomp by the chapter, Cauchon acting as bishop, and both duke and duchess had borne themselves with great humility through the long ceremony.[2] In

[1] See Beaurepaire, *Recherches sur le procès de condamnation de J.*, especially pages 50 et seq

[2] Beaurepaire, 61.

honor of his admission, Bedford had made large gifts to the cathedral, for which he seems to have had a real affection, and in which, five years later, he was buried at his own request. Bedford doubtless wished that Cauchon's request should be granted, and it was impossible for the chapter to disregard the wish of a man who was at once its master and friend. On December 28, accordingly, letters were issued to Cauchon.

They set forth that Cauchon sought to proceed against a certain woman, who had not only cast aside all decency and behaved shamelessly and as one unsexed, but also had held and spread abroad many things contrary to the Catholic faith and in derogation of its articles. By God's pleasure this woman had been taken in Cauchon's diocese, and he had prevailed upon her captors to deliver her up. so that she was now come into his hands in the city of Rouen. Here he proposed to hold his court, to examine witnesses, to question the accused herself, and, if necessary, to put her in prison. In acting thus he did not intend to thrust his sickle into the harvest of the chapter, but begged it to grant him for his purpose sufficient territorial rights. These the chapter graciously accorded, commanding all persons to assist the bishop, and authorizing him to proceed, either in company with the inquisitor or without him, as if he were acting within his own diocese. All which was done saving the dignity of the archdiocese of Rouen.[1]

After Cauchon had acquired the right to exercise his jurisdiction in Rouen, the English government delivered to him its prisoner. On January 3, 1431, the proclamation issued, rehearsing Joan's attempt to seduce simple people into the belief that she was sent by God, and declaring that the king, for the reverence and honor of God's name, and for the defense and exaltation of Holy Church, at the request of his dear and well-beloved daugh-

[1] P. i. 20.

ter the University of Paris, was willing to hand over Joan to the bishop for trial. "It is our intention, however," the proclamation continued, "to retake into our custody the aforesaid Joan, in case she should not be convicted of any of the aforementioned crimes." The English were not willing to trust their prisoner without reserve, even to the vigorous zeal of Cauchon.[1]

Before entering upon the history of the trial of Joan of Arc, it is well to consider just what was the temper and intention of the bishop at the time the trial began. Most certainly he did not look upon Joan with that freedom from prejudice which is the habit of every good judge at the present day. Before he ever saw her, he had a most decided opinion concerning her guilt, and he tried her with the distinct intention of condemning her, the possibility of an acquittal never having entered his mind. On the other hand, he had no intention of condemning the innocent, or of rendering a judgment in any way unjust. Joan's guilt was so certain that it would be a grievous failure of justice if that guilt was not made to appear plainly. For the purpose of mere justice, indeed, a trial was hardly needed, and its principal object was not to determine Joan's guilt, but to make that guilt manifest to all the world. At the outset of the trial Cauchon's temper was neither judicial nor hypocritical, but that of a sincerely bigoted partisan. How far it changed as the trial went on is another matter.

[1] P. i. 18.

CHAPTER XX.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TRIAL.

To understand the trial of Joan of Arc, it is necessary to know something of the form of trial ordinarily used in the fifteenth century, and especially of the methods of the Holy Inquisition and other ecclesiastical tribunals. January, 1431.

The old Teutonic theory of jurisprudence knew no broad difference between civil and criminal law, and regarded all criminal proceedings as lawsuits brought by the aggrieved person against the offender. As between the two parties to the suit, the court, however constituted, held itself impartial, and left them to fight it out or to settle it according to some one of the traditional methods of trial. This primitive theory was quite inadequate to meet the conditions of advancing civilization. In England the community, which originally acted only as the judge between complainant and defendant, in later times became vested with two distinct and even contradictory functions. On the one hand the sovereign, theoretically at least, replaced the original private complainant in a criminal suit and prosecuted it as an interested party, avowedly hostile to the defendant; on the other hand, the sovereign's judges sat to hear the case with primitive impartiality, deciding it as between party and party, substantially like a civil action. Neither the sovereign as complainant, nor the sovereign as judge, acting separately, undertook to determine if the accused was really guilty. The former strove to prove him guilty, the latter, with the help of a jury, decided if the proof offered at the

trial was formally and substantially sufficient to sustain the complaint or indictment. If the proof failed, either in form or substance, then, though the accused were plainly the greatest scoundrel in the realm, yet the court held him harmless.[1]

This method, theoretically absurd, but in the conditions of mediæval civilization practically pretty sensible, found less favor on the Continent. In France the idea of criminal prosecution as a contest between two parties tended to disappear,[2] and the courts undertook in the first instance to seek out the criminal and afterwards to judge him. The defendant might, indeed, be denounced to the judge by some person whom he had wronged, but private complaint or denunciation was not necessary. The judge himself, of his own notion, made inquisition for the offender. Even if the complaint was originally made by a private person, yet the judge usually held a preliminary inquest before proceeding to the trial of the case, acting after the manner of an English grand jury. This inquest was called an information, and it differed from the proceedings before the grand jury in this respect among others, that it was conducted by the same tribunal which subsequently tried the offender.[3]

In England, again, where a criminal proceeding was treated as a lawsuit between the sovereign and the accused, the latter, like a party to a civil suit, was not allowed to testify, and so could not be compelled to do so. In France

[1] This is not the place, of course, to discuss primitive jurisprudence or procedure. So much only has been said as may serve to throw light on Joan's trial. See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, i. 609 et seq. The "appeal," or private criminal suit, brought against the accused by the injured person or his representative, lingered in England until within living memory. Ashford *v.* Thornton, 1 Barnewall & Alderson's Reports, 405.

[2] It existed originally, of course. See Esmein, *Hist. de la procédure criminelle en France*, 43, 51.

[3] Esmein, 67, 81, 89, 103, 106, 108, 113.

the accused was naturally the most important witness, inasmuch as he knew most about the crime to be investigated; and so he was examined, not only at the trial, but at the inquiry which preceded it. There was another important difference between the English system and the French. In England, when the trial was had, the decision of the facts was left to the jury, a changing body of common men, not experts in the law, but men who made up their minds about each case as it arose, without elaborating any theory of presumption or of proof. In France permanent judges passed upon facts and law alike, and, being experts, soon framed a very elaborate and technical theory of proof which rapidly hardened into law. This theory of proof was doubtless intended to secure the accused from unjust condemnation; in fact it required for his conviction proof of such extraordinary strength that it hardly permitted the conviction of any one except upon his own confession in court.

In France, then, the courts were charged with the discovery and prosecution of criminals as well as with their trial, and by the rules they had established were almost forbidden to convict a criminal except upon his own confession. In this system, it became one of the principal duties of a judge to extort a confession from the accused, by gentle means if possible, otherwise by torture. Wherever the accused is permitted to arrest justice by his contumacy, torture becomes a necessity. This was true even in England; the English law did not permit a man to be tried or condemned unless he pleaded to the indictment, guilty or not guilty, and, if the accused was contumacious and would not plead at all, even the English law provided that he should be tortured until he spoke or died.[1]

[1] This was the so-called "peine forte et dure." Though a man died under the torture, he was not considered guilty, and so he saved his property from forfeiture. Nowadays, of course, silence is construed as a plea of not guilty.

What has been said hitherto concerning French procedure applies to the civil tribunals as distinguished from the ecclesiastical, but the theory of ecclesiastical procedure was the same. Doubtless the Holy Office was more arbitrary in its rules than the courts of the king, and even than those of the bishop; but in northern France it followed, at least in theory, much the same rules of evidence and the same mechanical doctrine of presumption. An ecclesiastical court, however, had an additional reason for seeking the confession of the accused. Only by his confession could be secured his repentance, and so his ultimate salvation.

Joan's trial, therefore, may be divided into two parts. The first was the inquest or *informatio præparatoria*, a somewhat rambling investigation into the facts of the case, a gathering of evidence to be taken down at the time, and used subsequently to support an accusation or indictment which had not yet been prepared. This evidence thus taken served a double purpose; it supplied the material out of which the indictment was framed, and then was used in proof of the same indictment. The second part of the trial was the *processus ordinarius* or trial proper, in which the evidence gathered at the preliminary inquiry, with some additional evidence taken at the trial itself, was examined to see if it afforded proof technically sufficient of Joan's guilt.

January 9, 1431.

On Tuesday, January 9, 1431, only six days after the English had formally delivered to him their prisoner, Cauchon opened his court in the royal council chamber at Rouen for the trial of Joan of Arc. He did not sit alone; Joan's guilt was to be established, not by the judgment of a single bishop, but by that of many reverend and learned men. At the first meeting of the court some eight were gathered, two abbots, a prior, the treasurer of the cathedral of Rouen and four canons, all of them the holders of degrees in theology, in civil or in

canon law. One John of Estivet, a canon of Beauvais and a follower of his bishop, was appointed by the court to be the prosecuting attorney.[1] John of La Fontaine became the bishop's commissary, a sort of vice-president of the tribunal. William Boisguillaume and William Manchon were made notaries, and John Massieu sergeant, the three last named being priests who lived in Rouen. Cauchon exhorted the notaries in particular to serve the king faithfully, informing them that he intended to make Joan's a notable trial. To the tribunal thus constituted were read the letters written by the University of Paris and by Cauchon himself concerning the delivery of Joan and the proceedings against her, and those from the chapter of Rouen and the English authorities giving the bishop jurisdiction of the matter. The court then adjourned.[2]

Four days later, on January 13, it met again in Cauchon's house.[3] The assessors in attendance at one meeting and another differed considerably; sometimes more than forty were present, sometimes only five or six. Some assessors sat but once or twice, others attended pretty regularly, these last being generally the men upon whom Cauchon could best rely. All were ecclesiastics, most of them Normans, a few from the rest of France, only one or two Englishmen. Some did their work reluctantly, most of them as a matter of routine, a few with hearty and bitter zeal. Jan.–Feb., 1431.

Before proceeding even to a preliminary inquest, it was advisable to produce some evidence indicating that Joan was a person reasonably suspected of crime, and to show this Cauchon caused to be read the depositions which had been taken at Domremy and thereabouts. In them was found very little discreditable to her; indeed the bishop is said to have complained bitterly of their uselessness, and to have reviled the man who brought them,

[1] See Esmein, 100 et seq.

[2] P. i. 5 et seq.

[3] P. i. 27.

refusing to pay him anything for his trouble. Thereat the messenger became angry in his turn, and went about saying that the depositions contained nothing concerning Joan that he would not be willing to find in his own sister.[1] Defective evidence such as this was eked out with minutes and memoranda much more satisfactory, drawn from the rumors and reports concerning Joan, from the legends current among English and Burgundian soldiers, and from the strange stories which for more than a year and a half had been told all over Europe. This mass of hearsay the court ordered to be condensed or digested into articles from which it might determine if there was sufficient reason for subjecting Joan to the inquest or preliminary inquiry above mentioned. Cauchon chose a committee for the purpose, and in about ten days it was ready to report.[2]

No copy has been preserved of these articles. The earliest existing formal statement of the case against Joan is one which was framed after she had been examined many days, and this was based largely upon the answers she had given. In order to understand the course of her long examination, however, we must know as definitely as possible what were the matters concerning which at the outset of the trial the judges expected to find her guilty. These were the matters to which they would address their questions, in the hope of getting from her either a direct confession or such admissions as would amount to one.

First and principally it was charged that Joan had had dealings with familiar spirits. That she had dealt with some sort of spirits was plain to every one, and there was doubt only concerning their character.[3] Joan asserted

[1] P. ii. 381; iii. 191, Moreau.

[2] P. i. 28.

[3] That she was a mere mountebank, or completely self-deceived, were improbable suppositions in the fifteenth century.

that they were saints; her enemies quite naturally believed them to be devils, and for their belief adduced several reasons. Magic was not unknown in Domremy; the depositions, even if they were otherwise worthless, contained stories of the fairy tree and of the magic fountain, — stories which might easily be exaggerated and applied to Joan. Again, Joan had apparently ascribed supernatural virtue to a particular sword and banner, and there were reports that she had used secret charms, and had promised to her soldiers safety in the face of the enemy. Other acts were even more plainly culpable. Not only had she entered upon an unwomanly career, and practiced all sorts of unwomanly exercises, but she had persistently worn men's clothes, a thing absolutely forbidden by Holy Scripture and the councils of the church. These were grave offenses in themselves, and they made Joan's boast of saintly guidance seem almost absurd. Moreover, she had attacked Paris on the feast of the Annunciation; she had attempted her own life at Beaurevoir, as a witch would do, instead of bearing her imprisonment patiently, like a good Christian; she had allowed common people to worship her; she had stolen a bishop's horse; she had pretended to work miracles. To men who do not believe in witchcraft, all this is a farrago of irrelevant nonsense, but, if an undoubting belief in witchcraft is assumed, then this easily credited mixture of truth and falsehood is quite suspicious enough to provoke judicial inquiry. During the trial one or two other causes of suspicion were found, and added to the charges.

About a month was spent in preparation. The first articles were revised and questions were prepared by the commissary, acting under the general direction of Cauchon, who was busy otherwise. On February 19 the articles were approved, and a formal summons was issued to Joan, but there was a hitch in the proceedings, appar-

ently unexpected. From the beginning it had been intended that a representative of the Inquisition should sit in Cauchon's tribunal. The inquisitor-general of France, however, the Dominican John Graverent, was busy at the trial of a burgher of St. Lô, and could not attend Joan's trial himself.[1] His vicar for the diocese of Rouen, the prior John Lemaître, was duly summoned by Cauchon, but hesitated at first, and then refused to sit with the bishop, alleging a want of jurisdiction. He was commissioned to act, as he said, only within the diocese of Rouen; geographically, Joan's trial was held in that diocese, but juridically it was held in the diocese of Beauvais, to which his authority did not extend. Probably he was unwilling to take part in the trial.[2]

Cauchon did not assent to the vicar's opinion concerning the limits of his authority, but tried first to overrule him, and then by promising to write to the inquisitor-general for a broader commission sought to persuade him to become a member of the court. Lemaître replied that for the clearing of his own conscience, and to insure the validity of the proceedings, he preferred not to meddle in any matter without due authority. So far as in him lay, he authorized Cauchon to proceed. Having excused himself in this cautious manner he withdrew. For the first time the bishop met with a passive opposition, afterwards shown by many others who were concerned in the trial.

With or without the inquisitor, Cauchon determined to go forward, and, in the royal chapel of the castle, on Wednesday, February 21, 1431, he held the first public session of the court. Forty-three assessors attended. The prosecuting attorney, Estivet, stood up and read the warrant summoning Joan to appear, and the certificate[3] of the sergeant who had served the process

Feb. 21, 1431.

[1] Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 80.

[2] P. i. 33.

[3] In English legal terminology, the return.

upon her. This certificate stated that Joan would willingly appear before the bishop, but had begged that some of her judges might be taken from the French party, and also that she might be allowed to hear mass before she was brought into court. Thereupon Cauchon explained to his assessors that "considering the crimes of which the said woman was accused, and the impropriety of the dress which she persisted in wearing," he had forbidden her to hear mass. He had acted thus, as he said, by the counsel of notable doctors; but upon this question he did not ask the advice or consent of his assessors, perhaps because he feared to risk so important a matter to the vote of so large and so mixed a body.[1] This denial of spiritual comfort, which had continued nearly three months, as well as Joan's bodily and mental distress, was relied upon to break her stubborn will.

After this introduction, Joan was brought into court, her irons having been removed for the occasion. For the first time in many weeks, probably, she saw the full light of day.[2] Pale and shabby from her nine months' confinement,[3] the girl of nineteen faced the abbots, priors, canons, doctors, and bachelors of law and theology, knowing that all were her natural enemies. By nature altogether truthful, wise enough or simple enough to tell the whole truth in answering all ordinary questions, she yet understood that she did not appear before these men in order to give a complete history of herself, but to stand for her life and the holiness of her mission. The ques-

[1] P. i. 40 et seq.

[2] See P. ii. 16, where Massieu tells how Estivet threatened him with imprisonment in a tower where he could see neither the sun nor moon for a month. Massieu's offense had been friendliness to Joan.

[3] Probably the dress she wore when taken at Compiègne, without the armor and mantle. It is unlikely that either Luxemburg or the English so far humored her sinful practices as to supply her with men's clothes.

tions put to her she considered shrewdly, and by adroitness, by good humor, by wit, or by sayings in which all these were combined in a perfect expression of faith in the God she served, she avoided many of the traps which her examiners laid for her. Considered merely as an intellectual exercise, her defense is wonderful, made, as it was, without help of an advocate. That it was made without help, Joan would have utterly denied. Many times a day she sought and received the counsel of her voices: at noontime while the court took a recess, at evening or waking in the morning, now and then even in the court-room. Sometimes she had only the sense of their presence, sometimes they advised her what to say, often they told her to "answer boldly, and that God would help her."

After a seat had been given her, Cauchon rehearsed the story of her capture and warned her to speak the truth without wile or subterfuge. Having thus admonished her charitably, as he phrased it, he next directed that she be sworn on the Evangelists to answer truly the questions put to her. She hesitated, knowing that there were questions which she was not ready to answer, and fearing that if once she were sworn, she must tell everything. "I do not know what you wish to ask me about," she said. "You may ask me things that I will not tell you." Cauchon asked her if she would answer in all matters of religion.[1] Regarding her father and mother, and her deeds since she came into France, Joan answered that she would swear to testify, but her revelations from God she had told only to Charles her king. These things she would not reveal though they should cut off her head, for her voices had forbidden her to speak; within a week, however, she might receive permission.[2]

After some further parley and much confusion in the court, Cauchon yielded for the time, and Joan knelt down, laid both her hands upon a missal, and took the

[1] "Fidei materiam concernentibus." [2] P. i. 45.

oath in the form she had chosen. Then she answered readily a number of questions about her birthplace, her age, her parents and godparents. Her religious teaching, she told her judges, had been given her by her mother, who had taught her the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, and the Creed. Following the practice of the Inquisition,[1] Cauchon bade her say the Lord's Prayer. Joan answered that she would gladly do so if the bishop would hear her in confession. Cauchon insisted that the prayer should be said at once, and Joan persistently refused. Possibly she objected to rattling off the sacred words merely to gratify what she considered her judge's whim, but she had a deeper reason for her refusal. By offering to say the Lord's Prayer in confession, she hoped to obtain a confessor, one of the spiritual privileges of which she had been deprived. She had triumphed, at least for the moment, in the matter of the oath, and as her voices had told her to answer boldly, she was ready to do so. The hearing had lasted for some time, and Cauchon adjourned it to the next day.

Before dismissing his prisoner, however, he formally warned her, under penalty of being taken for a convicted heretic, not to withdraw from the prison assigned to her without his leave. Joan answered that she would not be bound by his command, and she added that, if she should escape, no one could blame her for breaking her parole, inasmuch as she had never given it. She complained of being kept in chains. The bishop said that this was necessary for her safe-keeping, and that she had already tried to escape. "It is true that I wished to get away, and still wish it," she answered, "as any prisoner may rightfully do."[2]

Ordinarily, a person tried before an ecclesiastical court was kept in an ecclesiastical prison, that is to say, in one controlled by the court before which the case was tried.

[1] See Taxil, *Le Martyre de J.*, 94. [2] P. i. 47.

The bishop of Beauvais had no prison in Rouen, and this may have been his excuse for keeping Joan in a secular prison; the real reason for her exceptional treatment, however, was quite different. In risking her trial before an ecclesiastical court, the English had done all they dared, and they had expressly reserved the right to deal with her as they chose, in case she should be acquitted. To trust her to a French ecclesiastical jailer was out of the question, and throughout the trial she was kept in the custody of English laymen. In an ecclesiastical prison, solitary confinement in chains would probably have been directed by Cauchon, but from a certain kind of outrage Joan would have been secure. To give his action the appearance of regularity, Cauchon went through the form of swearing the English jailers to keep her well and faithfully, without letting her speak to any one. She was then led back to her chamber.

There had been so much confusion in the chapel, and Joan had been interrupted so often and by so many people, that the notary Manchon refused to act further unless the proceedings were conducted in more orderly fashion. He was an honest and painstaking clerk, scrupulous in reporting Joan's answers correctly, and he disapproved of the unfair record made by certain clerks in the employ of the English council, who had written down what they pleased. Cauchon had not yet begun to doubt that Joan could be condemned on a fair hearing, and the place of her trial was accordingly changed to a retiring-room near the great hall of the castle. Two English guards kept the door.[1]

At about eight o'clock in the morning of February 22 Joan was brought to this place, fasting, for it was Lent. There was another wrangle over the form of the oath, with the same result as before. Then John

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[1] P. iii. 135, Manchon.

Beaupère,[1] a learned doctor of theology, sent from the University of Paris, took up Joan's examination, and began by exhorting her to tell the truth, in whatever form she had taken the oath. "You may well ask me one thing about which I will tell you the truth, and another thing about which I will not tell you at all," Joan answered. "If you were well informed about me, you ought to wish me out of your hands. I have done nothing except by revelation."[2]

Beaupère asked about her life as a child, and she answered freely. In sewing and in spinning she was not afraid to match herself against any woman in Rouen. He asked her how often she had confessed and communicated; she answered as particularly as she could, and when he pressed her further, told him to pass to the next question. Then he came to her visions, and she told him the time and place of their first appearance.

Desiring to show that the spirits which had spoken to Joan were evil, Beaupère asked what they had taught her for her soul's sake. She answered that they had told her to conduct herself well and to go often to church. Beaupère wished to know the manner and form of their appearance, but for the time Joan refused to tell him. She told him at some length of her visits to Baudricourt and to the duke of Lorraine, and of her journey to Chinon. She was shown the letters she had written to the English captains before Orleans, and she acknowledged them, though she said that her language had been slightly changed. In fact, this had probably been done by the French scribes who wrote down her words.[3]

[1] Beaurepaire, *Notes sur les juges et les assesseurs du procès de condamnation de J.*, 27.

[2] P. i. 51.

[3] P. i. 52 et seq. The alterations which she specified in the letters are found in copies of them which never were in English or Burgundian hands. The most important change is the substitution of "Yield

She told Beaupère that at Chinon she had known the king by the help of her voices. At once he pressed her for details, asking whether there had been a miraculous light in the place or an angel over the king's head, and what sort of revelations Charles had had concerning her. Joan suggested that he should send to the king, from whom, doubtless, he could get an answer. This, naturally, did not satisfy Beaupère, and he urged her further. Provoked by his persistence, Joan told him that the men of her party knew well that the voice was sent from God, and that they had seen and heard the voice:[1] the king and some others had seen the voice[2] when it came, among them Charles of Bourbon and two or three more. Led on by the stupid unbelief of her questioners, Joan was beginning to play boldly upon words, and, in talking of her coming to Charles, to speak of herself as the angel and the voice. Beaupère took up another accusation, that of having attacked Paris on a feast day, but he had hardly opened the matter when the court adjourned.

After a day's notice, on Saturday, February 24, the court assembled at the usual hour, with a larger body of assessors than before. Again Cauchon tried to make Joan take the oath without reservation, and again she refused. "Look well to what you are saying, namely, that you are my judge," she warned him, "for in this you take a great burden on yourself, and you

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yourself to the Maid," as it stands in all the texts, for "Yield yourself to the king," as Joan said she dictated it. See P. i. 55; iv. 215, 306; v. 95.

[1] "Viderunt et cognoverunt ipsam vocem." P. i. 57.

[2] "Audiverunt et viderunt voces venientes ad ipsam Johannam." P. i. 57. This implies that Bourbon and others saw St. Catherine and St. Margaret; but it is probable that the clerks, who did not understand Joan's equivocation, failed to catch her exact words. That the courtiers did not believe that they saw anything miraculous or extraordinary is made pretty plain by the fact that nothing of the sort was alleged or testified to at Joan's second trial.

burden me too heavily." She told the judges that she was sent by God and had no business in Rouen, and she begged them to send her back to God, from whom she had come. At last she said that she was ready to tell the truth in whatever concerned the case, and in this manner she was sworn.[1]

Beaupère began the examination by asking Joan when she had last eaten, hoping, apparently, to show that she had not kept Lent; but she told him that she had eaten nothing since the afternoon of the day before. Then he asked when she had last heard her voices. "Both yesterday and to-day," she answered. They had come to her many times a day, and on Friday morning had roused her from sleep. Trying to support his theory of an evil spirit, Beaupère asked if she had given thanks to the voice, and had gone down on her knees to it; he forgot that she was so chained that she could not kneel. Without noticing his mistake, Joan said simply that she had given thanks, sitting up in bed with joined hands; she had already asked for help, and she had been told to answer boldly. Beaupère tried to discover the precise language of the voices, but she would not, and, indeed, probably could not tell him. Suddenly she turned upon Cauchon: "You say that you are my judge. Have a care what you do, for truly I am sent from God, and you put yourself in great peril."[2]

She had said that she feared she might displease her voices if she should answer all his questions, and Beaupère ingeniously inquired if God would be displeased with her for telling the truth. "My voices have told me to say some things to the king and not to you. This very night they have told me many things for his advantage, which I wish he knew even now, though I were to drink no wine for it until Easter." Beaupère suggested that she should command the voice to carry the message to

[1] P. i. 60, 61. [2] P. i. 62.

the king. Joan answered that the voice would not obey her unless this were God's will. "If it pleased God, He himself could cause the revelation to be made to the king, whereat I should be much pleased." When asked why the voice did not speak to the king as it used to do when Joan was with him,[1] she said that this might not be God's will; without His grace, she added, she should not know what to do. After another vain attempt to discover how the voices appeared to her, the wily doctor asked if she knew that she was in the grace of God. This may well have been a question ordinarily put to an obstinate heretic, for, if the accused answered yes, he manifested an unholy presumption, while, if he answered no, his guilt stood confessed. One of the assessors interrupted, saying it was not a fair question to put to a girl, but Cauchon told him he had better hold his tongue.[2] "May God bring me into His grace if I am not in it; if I am in it, may He keep me there," [3] Joan answered. "If I knew that I was not in God's grace, I should be the sorriest being in the world.[4] If I were living in sin, I think the voice would not come to me, and I wish that every one understood it as well as I do." [5]

Beaupère next inquired about her life at Domremy and the state of political parties in the neighborhood, and presently asked if her voices had told her to hate the Burgun-

[1] The question indicates that Joan's equivocation was misleading her judges.

[2] P. ii. 367, Fabre.

[3] The Latin translation of the original French minute reads: "Si ego non sim, Deus ponat me, et si ego sim, Deus me teneat in illa." I suggest that the original probably read: "Si je ne suis pas, Dieu m'y mette, et si je suis, Dieu m'y tienne." "Mettre" is translated "ponere" (see pp. 98, 107, 126, 167, 168, 183); "tenir" is translated "tenere" (see pp. 104, 117, 141, 169, 177).

[4] "Ego essem magis dolens de toto mundo."

[5] P. i. 65.

dians. Joan perceived the trap he thus laid for her, but admitted that she had not loved the Burgundians after learning that her voices were on Charles's side. Had she a firm intention of attacking the Burgundians, the examiner inquired. "I had a firm desire that my king should have his kingdom," Joan replied. The doctor then passed to the fairy tree and to the fountain, and Joan answered all his questions readily. There was a fountain near the village, the waters of which sick people used to drink, but she did not know if they were cured. There was a tree, about which strange stories were told; whether they were true or not she could not pretend to say. She had hung garlands on its branches, like other girls; sometimes, perhaps, she had danced about it with the boys of the village, but usually she preferred singing to dancing. There was also a grove less than half a league from her father's house. The neighbors had said that she took up her mission in this grove, but they had been mistaken. As to the fairy stories told about the grove, she did not believe them.

Having failed to prove that Joan had practiced magic in her youth, the examiner came to the wearing of men's clothes, an offense which she certainly had committed. "Are you willing to wear a woman's dress?" he asked. "Give me one," Joan answered, "I will take it and go away; unless I may go away I will not take it. I am content with this dress, since it pleases God that I should use it."

The strain to which Joan was subjected by these examinations we do not fully comprehend, unless we bear constantly in mind the life which the young girl was leading outside the court-room. She kept faithfully the fasts of the church, and, throughout Lent, from the afternoon of one day until the afternoon of the next she ate nothing. During these examinations, therefore, she was faint with hunger; indeed, her ques- Feb.–March, 1431.

tioners themselves were often worn out. If one became tired, however, another was ready to take his place, and several substitutes were provided for Beaupère.[1] Many times, in spite of the notary's protest, these deputies did not wait for Beaupère's withdrawal, but hurled at Joan half a dozen questions at once, until she was obliged to say with a smile, "My good lords, one of you at a time."[2] After she had undergone this exercise for three or four hours, she was taken back to her prison, her chains, and her brutal keepers. In walking between her cell and the court-room, she passed in front of the chapel of the castle, and the sergeant used to let her stop a moment in sight of the altar, and say a prayer. When the prosecuting attorney learned this, he was furious, and threatened the officer: "How dare you let that cursed wench go near a church? If you do it again, I will put you in a tower where for a month you shall see neither sun nor moon." Despite his orders, Joan could still glance in passing at the place where the host was kept, and Estivet would therefore block up the door with his body so that she could see nothing. No one came to her chamber, except those who had permission from Cauchon or the English. Now and then some burgher got a peep at her to gratify his curiosity,[3] or some noble was admitted to stare at her or to tease her. One day John of Luxemburg, who happened to be in Rouen, went to visit her, along with his brother the bishop, the English earls of Warwick and Stafford, and the squire Haimond of Macy.

"Joan, I am come to ransom you, if you will promise not to fight against us any more," said the count in rather cruel jest.

"In God's name, you are only laughing at me," Joan answered, "for I know well that you have neither the will nor the power." Luxemburg insisted, and at last Joan

[1] P. ii. 16, Massieu; iii. 178, Lemaire; 180, Cusquel.
[2] P. iii. 155, Massieu.
[3] See P. iii. 200, Daron.

said, "I know well that these English will kill me, thinking to get the kingdom of France after my death, but, though they were a hundred thousand goddams more than they now are, they shall not have the kingdom." Stafford was so angry at Joan's words that he drew his dagger to stab her, but Warwick checked him.[1]

Though she was harassed in this fashion, Joan's answers still gave Cauchon little satisfaction. "Let no one approach the heretic," so read a handbook of the Inquisition, "unless it be from time to time two faithful and skillful persons, who shall act as if they had pity on him, and shall warn him to save himself by confessing his errors, promising him, if he does so, that he shall not be burned; for fear of death and hope of life sometimes soften a heart which cannot otherwise be touched."[2] A faithful and skillful person of the sort required was found in Nicholas Loiseleur, a canon of Chartres and of Rouen, and an intimate friend of Cauchon.[3] Dressed as a layman, and acting under the directions of Cauchon and Warwick, he went into Joan's cell and represented himself to be a man from Lorraine, friendly to the girl and to the cause of France. On some excuse the warders withdrew, and left them together. There was no real privacy. Seated in a closet near by, which was built for the purpose, the notary Manchon was ordered to take down Joan's words, for use against her in the trial. Though commanded by the bishop and the earl, the notary refused to obey, saying that he would record only the testimony given in court. For this reason or for some other, the part of the plan which depended upon him was given up, but Loiseleur continued to visit Joan, and to express his sympathy for her troubles. For months she had not heard a kind word, and her shrewdness was de-

[1] P. iii. 121, Macy.

[2] See Quicherat, *Ap. nouv.*, 131.

[3] Beaurepaire, *Notes sur les juges*, 75; P. ii. 10.

ceived. To Loiseleur she said much that she never would have told her judges. When the examiners wished to question Joan on any matter, Loiseleur would talk it over with her in the afternoon or evening, and upon what she said to him Beaupère would frame the questions to be asked on the next morning.[1]

[1] P. ii. 10, 342 ; iii. 140, Manchon ; 161, Boisguillaume ; 60, Courcelles. In his *Recherches*, p. 107 et seq., M. Beaurepaire points out discrepancies in the accounts of Manchon and Boisguillaume, and doubts the whole story. These discrepancies seem to me rather unimportant, and fully explicable by the lapse of time and the great age of Boisguillaume. The main fact is established by the testimony of Courcelles, a well informed and unimpeachable witness.

CHAPTER XXI.

JOAN'S EXAMINATION.

After two days' interval, on February 27 Joan was brought into court for the fourth time. There was the usual fruitless wrangle over the form of her oath, and then Beaupère asked about her health during the last three days, perhaps because he hoped that her obstinacy was weakening under the constant strain, perhaps because he was afraid that she would break down entirely, and die unconvicted on his hands, an end of the proceedings most undesirable. With natural impatience Joan answered, "You can see for yourself how I am; I am as well as I can be."[1] Feb. 27, 1431.

The examiner then spent some time in a vain attempt to discover precisely how Joan's voices appeared to her. At length, when he asked whether the voice was that of an angel, of a saint, or of God himself, Joan yielded so far as to tell him that the voices were those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret. "And their faces were crowned with beautiful crowns, very rich and precious," she added. "This much I have God's leave to tell you. If you doubt what I say, send to Poitiers, where I have been examined already."

At once Beaupère began a series of questions which seemed to Joan utterly trivial: did the saints speak one after another, or both at once; how did Joan know them apart; did they wear the same sort of clothes; were they of the same age? Sometimes Joan referred him to her

[1] P. i. 70. "Ego me habui quantum melius potui" (*Je me suis portée le mieux que j'ai pu?*).

examination at Poitiers, sometimes she said that she had not leave to answer him. Probably she knew little of the petty matters which he asked her about; once, when he spoke of St. Michael's voice, she replied, "I said nothing to you about his voice. I spoke of the great comfort he had given me."[1]

Beaupère asked if there had been an angel above Charles's head when she first saw the king at Chinon. Joan lost her patience: "By the blessed Mary, I don't know if he was there," she said. "I did not see him." "Was there a light?" asked the doctor. "There were more than three hundred soldiers, and about fifty torches," Joan answered, "and that without counting the spiritual light. Rarely do I have revelations without light," she added.[2]

By the examiner's request she told the story of the sword found at St. Catherine of Fierbois. She had not caused it to be blessed, she said, nor had she laid it upon the altar to make it lucky. Had she prayed that it might be lucky, asked the persistent Beaupère. "Most certainly I wished my arms to be lucky," she answered. After giving a full description of her banner, she was questioned about the relief of Orleans, and especially if she had promised her soldiers that she herself would receive all the arrows, bolts, cannon balls, and so forth, which might be aimed at them. "Certainly not," she answered. "In fact, more than a hundred of them were hurt; but I did tell them not to doubt, and that they should raise the siege. In attacking the fort near the bridge I myself was wounded; but I had great comfort from St. Catherine, and was cured within a fortnight, and I did not have to give up riding and attending to business."[3]

[1] P. i. 71 et seq. It is probable that Joan limited the name "voices" (voix, voces) to St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

[2] P. i. 75. [3] P. i. 79.

On March 1 and 3 the examination was continued in much the same fashion.[1] Again and again the examiner asked his questions about the voices: did they wear their hair long, did they have arms and legs, did they wear earrings, and did St. Michael wear a crown and carry a pair of scales? "I have told you what I know," Joan said, "and I will answer you no further. I have seen St. Michael and the other saints quite well enough to know that they are really saints in paradise."[2] The examiner inquired if St. Margaret spoke English. "Why should she," asked Joan, in return, "since she is not of the English party?" "Was St. Michael naked?" "Do you think that God has not wherewith to clothe him?" Joan answered. "Did he have hair?" continued the undaunted doctor. "Why should it have been cut off?" Joan replied, not thinking the question deserved a serious answer; but, when Beaupère insisted on finding out the condition of the archangel's head, Joan told him that she knew nothing about it.[3] March 1-3, 1431.

What promises had the voices made to her, inquired Beaupère; knowing that Satan is in the habit of making large promises to his votaries. "They promised that my king should receive his kingdom, whether his enemies would or no, and that they would guide me to paradise, as I begged them to do." The answer was disappointing, and Beaupère asked if no other promise had been given; Joan admitted that there had been another, which she would tell within three months. Did they promise you that within three months you should be released? "I do not know when I shall be released," said the girl; "but they who wish to put me out of the world may well leave it before me." The examiner pressed to know if a defi-

[1] P. i. 80 et seq.

[2] P. i. 93.

[3] P. i. 86, 89. The questions are somewhat grouped, in order that the reader's confusion may not be as great as was that of the judges.

nite promise of release had been given. "That does not concern your case," Joan answered. "Do you wish me to give evidence against myself?" At length she admitted that the voices had promised her freedom, though she knew neither the day nor the hour of it; "and they have bidden me to be bold and put on a cheerful face," she added. "I should have died if it had not been for the revelation which comforts me daily."[1]

They tried to show that Joan used magic charms, and especially the herb mandragora. She answered simply that she had heard it existed in the neighborhood of Domremy, and was a thing dangerous to keep, though sometimes used to get money. She herself had no belief in it and never had used it, nor had her voices said anything to her about it.[2] Beaupère asked if prayers and masses had not been said in her honor. Joan replied that she knew nothing about this, and that no service had been said at her bidding, but if people had prayed for her, it seemed to her that they had not done ill. "Do the people of your party believe firmly that you are sent by God?" she was asked. "I do not know if they believe it. I leave that to their own minds; but, even if they do not believe it, yet I am sent by God." "In believing that you are sent by God, do you think they hold a true belief?" asked the pertinacious doctor. "If they believe that I am sent by God, they are not deceived," she answered.[3]

Pursuing his theory of magic, Beaupère reached the case of the child brought back to life at Lagny; and Joan's answer is given as an example of the clearness and freedom with which she answered all ordinary questions. "The child was three days old and was brought to our Lady at Lagny. I was told that the maids of the town were before our Lady, and I wished to go there and pray God and our Lady to bring the child back to life, so I went and prayed with the others. At last, life appeared

[1] P. i. 87, 88, 94. [2] P. i. 88. [3] P. i. 101.

in him and he yawned three times; then he was baptized, and soon afterwards he died and was buried in consecrated ground. For three days, they said, he had shown no signs of life, and he was as black as my coat, but when he yawned, his color began to come back. I was with the maids on my knees before our Lady in prayer." "Was it not said in the town that you had brought the child back to life, and that it happened on account of your prayers?" inquired Beaupère. "I never asked about that," Joan answered.[1] In the same simple fashion and with a good deal of quiet humor, Joan described her meetings with Friar Richard and Catherine of La Rochelle.[2]

Several times, in his incoherent examination, Beaupère asked about her dress, and almost always she tried to evade his questions. It was a small matter, she said, and she held no man responsible for it; if her voices had ordered her to put on another dress, she would have done so. When asked if she thought she would commit mortal sin if she should put on women's clothes, she answered that it was better to obey and serve her sovereign lord, that is, God. In truth, she was too modest to say to her judges that she felt safer when dressed as a man, and it is probable that, even in her own mind, she did not altogether separate the direct commands of her voices and the measures of ordinary prudence which she believed them to approve.[3]

At the close of the sixth day of Joan's examination, Cauchon told the assessors that he proposed to appoint a committee to make a digest or synopsis of the answers which she had already given. If it should appear necessary to examine her further, he did not intend to vex the whole body of them by requiring their attend- March 3–9, 1431.

[1] P. i. 105.

[2] P. i. 99, 102, 106.

[3] P. i. 54, 74, 96. Probably, also, Beaupère's insistence led her to assert a divine command for the dress she wore more direct and unqualified than she really wished to claim.

ance in court, but would appoint another committee to conduct the second examination, the result of which should be submitted to all the assessors in writing. For six days in succession [1] the first mentioned committee worked over the minutes of the evidence, and prepared a list of subjects on which Joan should be questioned further.[2]

The subjects thus selected are known only from the course of the second examination, which was quite as incoherent as the first. If we consider, however, the suspicions with which the judges entered upon the trial, and the causes of complaint against Joan which they then believed themselves to have, we shall see that the prosecution had not yet made out a case as strong as that expected from it. Cauchon had decided to call no witness but Joan herself; the depositions taken elsewhere were to be used only as suggestions to the prosecuting attorney, and Joan's guilt was to be proved by her testimony alone. But the testimony which Joan had given, even if it did not show that she was innocent, at least had failed to establish her guilt. It was possible to believe that the voices which spoke to her were those of devils, but the likelihood of their being angelic or saintly had been increased by her story. On some minor matters of accusation, such as the use of magic and the receiving of idolatrous worship, the prosecution had failed utterly, and its failure in these lesser things had made less probable the principal charge.

The testimony had had its effect upon those who heard it, or at least upon some of them. At the beginning of the trial it is probable that all the assessors were more or less prejudiced against Joan, but among them were several fair-minded men, who really wished to render an impartial judgment. These men had been influenced by Joan's testimony and bearing, and two or three of them spoke their minds to their friends or in public. One

[1] March 4 to 9 inclusive. [2] P. i. 111, 112.

could see no great harm in Joan; another said that, if her answers had been but very slightly different, she would have cleared herself altogether. Even the sergeant, who led Joan from the prison to the court-room, told an acquaintance that nothing discreditable had yet appeared in her, though God only knew how she would hold out to the end. Cauchon reproved the man severely and spoke harshly to the assessors, but their remarks were the common gossip of Rouen; the English became alarmed and angry, and the bishop perceived that his method of procedure must be changed. It was not easy to stop the mouths of half a hundred ecclesiastics, many of them men of distinction and of some independence.[1]

For these considerations, rather than from a kindly regard for the convenience of his colleagues, Cauchon proposed thereafter to examine Joan in presence of a small committee, the members of which he could select. Furthermore, instead of holding his court in a room to which some outsiders may have had access, he determined to go to Joan's cell. By this means he not only secured a retired place for his proceedings, so small that it was impossible to gather there more than eight or ten persons, but he also deprived Joan of the relief she had gained from the change of scene and the exercise of moving from her cell to the court-room. On March 10 he went to the tower, accompanied by Midi and Feuillet, delegates of the University of Paris, upon whom he could rely; there were present, besides, only his commissary, another lawyer, the sergeant, and the notaries. In place of Beaupère, La Fontaine the commissary acted as examiner.[2]

March 10–12, 1431.

He first asked Joan about her capture before Compiègne, and attempted to show that her voices must have

[1] P. ii. 16, 329, Massieu; 348, 349, La Pierre; 354, Marguerie; 356, Grouchet; 373, Riquier.

[2] P. i. 113.

come from the Devil, because they had betrayed her to her enemies. Joan answered, however, that her voices had foretold her capture for weeks, though she had not known precisely when it would happen.[1] After touching upon one or two other matters, La Fontaine began to ask about the sign which Joan had given to Charles VII.

At an earlier examination, as has been said already, Joan had begun to play upon words, and to make an allegory of her coming to Charles, in which she took the part of an angel bringing him a sign. The counsel of her voices to answer boldly, her sense of humor, tickled by the gravity with which her examiners asked their stupid questions and misunderstood her figurative answers, and her firm belief that she had been really God's messenger to give a kingdom to her king, all made her persist in the mystification. If her conduct in so dangerous a situation seems to us frivolous, we must bear in mind that, ordinarily, she was without the sense of fear. At Beaurevoir, indeed, she had been afraid of falling into the hands of the English; but she recognized with shame that this fear had led her into sin, indeed had almost been a sin in itself, inasmuch as it had implied a distrust of her heavenly voices. This sin she would not commit again; her voices were continually telling her to be bold, and she was bold. No doubt she expected them in some way or other to deliver her from prison, though she did not know how. Sometimes she partly realized her situation, but during the first part of the trial, at any rate, she was almost sure of escape.

When, therefore, La Fontaine asked her what was the sign she had given to the king, she replied that it was fair and honorable, trustworthy and good, the richest thing that could be. "Does it still remain in existence?" inquired La Fontaine. "Surely it does," Joan answered, "and it will last for a thousand years and more." "Is

[1] P. i. 114 et seq.

it gold or silver, a precious stone or a crown?" asked the examiner. "I will tell you no more," said Joan. "Man could not imagine anything so rich as the sign. For you the sign most needed is that God should deliver me out of your hands, and that is the surest sign He can send you." La Fontaine asked if she had made obeisance to the sign. Joan answered that she had gone down upon her knees many times, and had thanked God for freeing her from the vexations of the clergy. When the king and those who were with him had seen the sign and the angel who brought it, she had asked the king if he was satisfied, and he had answered yes. For love of her, and that people might stop asking her questions, God had been willing that the men of her party should see the sign. In some of her answers, as they are reported, it is not easy to discover the allegorical sense, but the notaries had no idea what she meant, and, though quite honest, they may not have taken down the exact words upon which her double meaning depended.[1]

On February 22, as has been said,[2] Cauchon had written to the inquisitor-general asking that the Holy Office take part in Joan's trial. Unable to be present himself, on March 12 Graverent sent a commission which removed completely the legal scruples of his vicar Lemaître, and gave him full authority to act in the matter.[3] Lemaître, however, seems to have done no more than was necessary. He had the right to appoint his own prosecuting attorney and sergeant, but, in order to avoid the responsibility of choice, he commissioned as officials of the Inquisition Estivet and Massieu, who had already been appointed by Cauchon. He himself sat silent beside Cauchon, and brought with him a Dominican friar, Isambard of La Pierre, who soon began to sympathize with Joan.[4]

[1] P. i. 119 et seq.
[2] See p. 264, supra.
[3] P. i. 122 et seq.
[4] P. i. 134 et seq., 148.

March 12 18, 1431.

Between Monday, March 12, and Saturday, March 18, the court sat eight times, always in Joan's cell, twice each on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, once each on Tuesday and Thursday. Six or eight persons only were present; all picked men upon whom Cauchon thought he could rely.[1] The examination, conducted mostly by La Fontaine, was as incoherent as ever. The questions shifted from one part of the case to another and back again, perhaps to bewilder Joan, perhaps because at his own want of success the examiner himself was perplexed. To avoid utter confusion, some of Joan's answers, gathered from these eight sittings, are grouped together.

Over and over again, probably with a real curiosity, her examiners tried to find out what was the sign she had shown to the king, and, under their minute questioning, Joan was forced to make her allegory more and more elaborate. "Did the angel come down from on high, or did he walk along the ground?" she was asked. "He came from on high," Joan answered, "that is, he came by the command of our Lord; he came into the room through the door." The examiners inquired what the angel did after he had entered the room. "He made obeisance to the king," said Joan, "and called to remembrance the noble patience the king had shown under the great tribulations which had befallen him." "Where did the angel first appear to you?" asked the examiner. "I was almost always praying that God would send the sign to the king, and I was in my lodgings with a good woman, near the castle, when the angel came; then we went together to the king." The doctor inquired if God had sent his angel to her on account of her own merit. Joan replied that he had come for a weighty cause, hoping that the king would believe the sign, and that men would cease to dispute with her; also to bring help to the

[1] Except La Pierre, who was introduced by the inquisitor.

people of Orleans, and for the merit of the king and of the duke of Orleans. "Why, then, did the angel come to you?" said her questioner. "Because it pleased God," Joan answered, "to overthrow the king's enemies by a simple maid." [1]

The like minute inquiry was made concerning the appearance of St. Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine. In what she said about the saints, Joan intended no allegory, but she described them with great reserve, partly because she was not ready to tell everything she had seen, and partly because, from the nature of the revelation, she knew little of their bodily appearance. She knew the archangel, she said, by his speech. Suppose the Enemy took the appearance of an angel, how would she know him from a real one, asked her questioner. Joan was sure that she could tell the difference between a true angel and a false one, though, when St. Michael had first visited her, she had been doubtful and very fearful. The examiner wished to know how she was able to recognize the angel after several appearances better than at first. Joan answered that she knew him by his teaching. "What did he teach?" asked La Fontaine. "Above all, he taught me to be a good child," said Joan, "and that God would help me; among other things he bade me go to help the king of France, and he told me of the great distress of the kingdom." [2]

Despite their former failure, the examiners again tried to prove that Joan had practiced magic and had used talismans. She had told them that she loved her banner far better than her sword, and upon her banner they pitched, asking why she had emblazoned it in the fashion she described, who were the angels thereon represented, and why there were two angels, neither less nor more.

[1] P. i. 139 et seq.

[2] "La pitié qui estoit en royaume de France." See P. i. 170 et seq.

Joan was impatient of questions like these, and she answered shortly that her voices had told her to take the banner in the name of the King of Heaven. Did she pray that she might gain all her battles by virtue of her banner, asked the examiner. Joan replied that her voices bade her take the banner boldly, and promised that God would help her. The persistent La Fontaine then inquired which had been most efficacious in winning the victory, the banner or herself. "All depended upon our Lord," said Joan. "Did your hope of victory rest upon your banner or upon yourself?" "It rested upon our Lord and nowhere else." "If another hand had carried the banner, would it have been as lucky as it was when you carried it?" "I know nothing about that; I leave it to God." "If one of your men had lent you his banner, and you had carried it, would you have had as good hope in it as in the banner which was commanded by God?—suppose, for example, it had been the royal standard." "I was more willing to carry the banner commanded me by our Lord, but I left everything altogether to our Lord."[1] "Why was your banner displayed in the cathedral of Rheims, at the king's consecration, rather than the banners of the other captains?" asked the judge. "It had shared the trial," Joan answered; "that was good reason for its sharing the honor."[2]

The common belief of the Middle Ages attributed a mystic virtue to maidenhood, and Joan had called herself the Maid.[3] If her strength was not to be found in her banner, perhaps it depended upon her virginity. The examiner asked accordingly if she knew by revelation that in losing her virginity she would lose her good luck

[1] "Toutes voies du tout je m'en actendoye à nostre Seigneur."

[2] P. i. 181 et seq.

[3] So did the common belief of many ancient peoples, but the asceticism of mediæval Christianity greatly strengthened the natural and almost universal feeling.

and would no longer be visited by her voices.[1] With all her frankness, Joan seems in such matters to have been much more shamefaced and modest of speech than was common among women of her time. "That has not been revealed to me," she said. "If you were married, do you believe that your voices would not come to you?" continued her questioner. "I do not know," she answered, "and leave that to our Lord."[2]

Aside from these serious matters, the judges often resorted to mere catch questions. "Do you know if St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English?" asked La Fontaine. "They love what our Lord loves, and they hate what God hates," Joan answered. "Does God hate the English?" the examiner then asked. "As for God's love or hatred of the English, and as for what he will do to their souls, I know nothing," said Joan; "but I know well that they shall be driven out of France, all except those who die there, and that God will send victory to the French over the English." "Was God for the English while they prospered in France?" continued the wily priest. Joan replied that she did not know if God hated the French, but she believed that He was willing to let them be beaten for their sins, if they had committed any.[3] Afterwards, on the same day, the examiner, having put the questions about her marriage already mentioned, suddenly asked if she firmly believed that her king had done well to kill the duke of Burgundy. As Charles did not openly confess his share in the murder, though he was generally believed to be guilty, La Fontaine was begging the question, but Joan did not stop to dispute the fact. She answered that the duke's killing had been a great injury to the kingdom of France, but

[1] Apparently Joan was examined and found a virgin. P. iii. 50, De la Chambre; 89, Marcel; 155, Massieu; 163, Boisguillaume; 175, Fabre. The evidence is not absolutely conclusive.

[2] P. i. 183.

[3] P. i. 178.

that, however matters might stand between the two men, God had sent her to the succor of the king of France.[1]

Though the examiners had had scant success in some of the matters just mentioned, yet there were others wherein Joan's sins seemed more evident. Inasmuch as one ought to honor father and mother, had she done right, asked La Fontaine, to leave her home without their knowledge. Joan answered that she had obeyed her parents in all things except in the matter of leaving them, and that afterwards she had written to them and they had forgiven her. Forgiveness after the fact was not enough for the doctor, and he inquired if, at the time she was leaving her parents, she thought she was not doing wrong. "Since God ordered it," said Joan, "it ought to have been done. Since God ordered it, though I had had a hundred fathers and mothers, even though I had been a king's daughter, still I would have left them." [2]

In jumping from the tower at Beaurevoir, Joan admitted that she had taken her life in her hand, and had disobeyed her voices. The judges made the most of this sin, but they could get out of Joan nothing more than a frank confession of it. La Fontaine asked if she had done severe penance therefor. Joan answered that she had done a large part of the penance in suffering the pain which the fall had caused her. "In taking the leap, do you believe that you committed mortal sin?" inquired the doctor. "I know nothing of that," said Joan, "but leave it to our Lord." [3]

Again and again the examiners returned to Joan's dress, inasmuch as it seemed to them continuous and defiant transgression. Her shamefacedness, already spoken of, kept her from telling them the whole truth, though her meaning must at times have been pretty clear. "Did your voices command you to wear men's clothes?" she was

[1] P. i. 183. [2] P. i. 129.
[3] P. i. 161, 169, 172.

asked. "All the good that I have done, I have done at the bidding of my voices," she replied, thus evading the answer that her voices had directly commanded her dress, which probably was not true. "In wearing men's dress, did you think you were doing wrong?" was the next question. "No," said Joan, "and even now if I were with the other side, in this very man's dress, it seems to me that it would be a very good thing for France to do as I did before I was taken prisoner." On no account, she said, would she swear not to bear arms and dress like a man in order to do our Lord's pleasure.[1]

Taking advantage of her wish to hear mass, they asked if it did not seem to her more fitting that she should hear it in women's clothes. Which did she prefer, they continued, to put on women's clothes and hear mass, or to keep her men's clothes and not hear mass. "Promise me that I shall hear mass, if I am dressed like a woman, and I will answer you," said Joan. "I promise you," said the examiner. Joan feared a trick, and wavered for an instant. "And what would you say if I had sworn to our king that I would not change my dress? However, I will tell you this. Make me a long dress reaching to the ground, without a train, and let me wear it to mass, and then after I come back I will put these clothes on again." Joan's offer did not satisfy the examiner, who probably hoped to twist her change of dress into a confession of sin, and he insisted that she should put on women's clothes without conditions. This, of course, she would not do. "Give me a dress like that of a burgher's daughter," she said; "a long cloak and a woman's hood, and I will put it on to go and hear mass." Immediately afterwards, however, she begged to hear mass dressed as she was, and for the time the examiner dropped the subject.[2] At a later hearing, when Joan began to realize the possibility of condemnation, she herself begged the church-

[1] P. i. 132, 177. [2] P. i. 164 et seq.

men present that if she must be stripped for execution they would grant her the favor of a woman's smock and kerchief. "If you wear men's clothes at God's bidding, why at the point of death do you ask for a woman's smock?" inquired the examiner. "If it is long, it will be sufficient," said Joan, whose modesty would let her say no more.[1]

Throughout her trial, Joan's answers regarding her dress show that she was not quite sure what she ought to do. For the accomplishment of her divine mission, man's dress was fitting and almost necessary; in this sense it was worn by God's command, though probably her voices had given her no direct commandment to wear it. Against the brutality of her keepers it gave her some protection. So long as she was a prisoner, however, her mission was suspended, and, if she was willing to take the risk of ill treatment, there might seem no positive sin in changing her dress in order to hear mass or to humor her judges. She was deterred chiefly by another consideration. Though her dress was not directly of divine appointment, though it was in itself a small thing, as she recognized, yet in the minds of her judges, and of nearly all men, it was so closely connected with her mission that to give up one appeared to be the denial of the other. The sensitive fear lest she should seem disloyal to God made her hesitate to do that which was otherwise indifferent, and it explains much of her conduct in the last part of the trial.

Like the belief of all who think themselves inspired, Joan's absolute dependence upon God seemed to savor both of fatalism and presumption. "Since your voices tell you that you will come at last into the realm of paradise, are you assured that you will be saved, and not damned in hell?" asked the examiner. Joan answered that she believed the promise of salvation made her by her voices as firmly as if she were already in heaven. "That

[1] P. i. 176.

is a weighty answer," said La Fontaine. Joan replied that she held it to be a great treasure. "After this revelation, do you think that you cannot commit mortal sin?" insinuated the examiner. "I know nothing about that," said Joan, "but I leave it altogether to our Lord." [1]

Even if every other device failed, there was one trap into which Joan was sure to fall. It was the last resort of the examiners,[2] and they made use of it with considerable skill. Joan had asserted that she was God's messenger, commissioned by Him through the voice of saints and angels. It was possible, to say the least, that her inspiration was from the Devil. Was she willing to leave the decision of the question to the church? If she refused submission, her guilt was established, for to deny the authority of the church was at once the commonest and the deadliest of heresies. If she submitted, then the ecclesiastical tribunal before which she stood was ready to assume the functions of the church, and to decide the question against her.

In her religious belief, Joan was a devout Catholic of the fifteenth century, holding heartily and without question all the doctrines of the church. From the least taint of Protestantism in any form, of the doctrines of Huss or Wiclif, she was absolutely free; indeed, she seems to have regarded the Hussites with most orthodox abhorrence. The supreme authority of the church she doubted no more than she doubted the heavenly nature of her visitors. Of both she was absolutely sure, and, for a time at least, she could see no difficulty in her assurance of them both. The difficulty existed, however, and her judges made the

[1] P. i. 155.

[2] As has been said, the examination was not conducted in any definite order, and many other accusations were persisted in after disobedience to the church was suggested; but, on the whole, this accusation was the last made, and its comparative importance increased as the trial proceeded.

most of it. She ought to allow the church, they told her, to decide if she had offended against the true faith. Joan replied by asking that her answers should be examined by the clergy, and that these should tell her if there was anything in them contrary to the Christian faith. She for her part would be well advised in the matter by her council, and would tell them what was revealed to her. If she had done anything against the Christian faith, she was very sorry and would not persist in it.

They then explained to her the difference between the church militant and the church triumphant, and asked her if she would allow the church on earth to determine whether she had done well or ill. Suspecting with very good reason that the judges before her claimed the whole authority of the church militant, Joan evaded the question by replying that she would not answer them further for the present.[1]

About an hour afterwards they returned to the attack and asked her abruptly if she would submit her words and acts to the church. "My deeds," Joan answered, "are all in the hands of God, and I leave them to Him. I assure you that I would do or say nothing against the Christian faith. If I had done or said anything, or if I had any charm about me, which the priests could say was against the Christian faith which our Lord has established, I would not hold it, but I would cast it away." The examiner persisted in his question: Would she submit herself to the decree of the church? Again Joan hesitated. "I will not now answer you any further," she said, "but on Saturday send me a priest, if you will not come yourself, and I will answer him with God's help, and it shall be put down in writing."[2]

This happened on Thursday. On Saturday the examiner again repeated his question. As to the church, Joan answered, she loved it and would uphold it with all

[1] P. i. 162. [2] P. i. 166.

her might, and she added that she ought not to be kept from going to church or from hearing mass. As for the good deeds she had done, and as for her coming to court, she must leave all to the King of Heaven, who had sent her to Charles, the son of Charles, king of France, who should be king of France himself. "And you will see," she went on, "that the French shall soon gain a great victory, which God shall give them, a victory so great that it will shake almost the whole kingdom of France. When it happens, remember that I told you."

"At what time will it happen?" asked the judge. "I leave that to our Lord," Joan answered.

Again the examiner asked her if she would submit to the decision of the church. "I will submit to our Lord, who sent me," Joan replied, "and to our Lady, and to all the blessed saints in paradise." Our Lord and the church seemed all the same to her, she added, and they ought not to make a difference between the two, and she asked why they tried to make out a difference in that which was all one.

They explained to her the church triumphant, — God, the saints and angels, and the souls in bliss; and the church militant, — our holy father the pope, God's vicar on earth, the cardinals, bishops, and clergy, and all good catholic Christians, — which church lawfully assembled cannot err, but is directed by the Holy Ghost. Would she submit herself to the church militant as they explained it to her? "I have come to the king of France by God's command," she answered, "by the command of the Virgin Mary and all the blessed saints in paradise, and by the command of the church victorious on high, and to that church I will submit all my good deeds, and all I have done or have to do. As to submitting to the church militant, I will say nothing more." [1]

[1] P. i. 174 et seq.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ARTICLES.

March 18-27, 1431.

On March 18 was finished the taking of testimony for the inquest or *informatio præparatoria*. All the testimony was then read over to Joan, and with one or two trifling exceptions she acknowledged it. The court had next to decide if it was sufficient to bring her to trial, or, in the phraseology of the English law, to justify the finding of an indictment. A digest of it was prepared by Estivet, the prosecuting attorney, which corresponded somewhat to the indictment itself. In the first place, this digest was to be approved by the court as showing sufficient cause for trying Joan, and after such approval it was to serve as a basis for her further examination. While Estivet was engaged in this work, some of the assessors looked up precedents and authorities and tried to make themselves familiar with what we should call the law of the case, as distinguished from its facts. On March 26 Estivet read to the court his digest or articles, which were pronounced sufficient by Cauchon and Lemaître, apparently without taking the opinion of the assessors. The bishop directed that Joan should be brought before him, on the following day, to answer the charges.[1] It is time to consider what effect her testimony had already produced on those who had heard it.

At the beginning of the trial all these men were prejudiced against Joan, and had little doubt of her guilt. With many, probably with most of them, the prejudice rested upon what they had heard, the stories about her

[1] P. i. 188 et seq., 194.

which circulated among the Anglo-Burgundians. With some of the hearers, like Cauchon, this natural and unavoidable prejudice was joined to the bitterest partisan hatred. Some of the assessors had believed Joan guilty, but had cared little whether she were guilty or not; others had not only believed her guilty, but had wished her conviction even more than they thought it just.

The fairer-minded assessors were in great perplexity. Joan's bearing had pleased them, and many of the charges against her had been disproved; yet in her conduct there was much to rouse suspicion: her presumptuous confidence in her voices, her obstinacy in wearing men's clothes, above all, her hesitation in submitting herself to the church. Some of these men honestly doubted whether Joan were a witch or the messenger of God, and wished to find out the truth.

Unfortunately, there were obstacles to the discovery of the truth beside the intrinsic difficulty of the case. The court sat in order to condemn Joan to death, as all its members well knew, reminded from time to time by the growing impatience of the English soldiers and by the exhibition of Cauchon's fixed purpose. It was nearly as much as a man's life was worth to express a doubt of Joan's guilt or of the validity of the proceedings. Those who did so generally left Rouen at once.[1] Under the circumstances, a doubting and timid priest dared not openly withstand Cauchon, but, in the deliberations of the court, generally voted for delay at every stage of the proceedings, meanwhile trying to induce Joan to confess her guilt or promise obedience, in the hope that she might be let off with imprisonment rather than be put to death.

Joan's partisan enemies, also, had changed their attitude during her examination. At first, they had been so sure of their case that they were ready to give her a fair trial,

[1] See P. ii. 348.

intending to get both conclusive proof of guilt and, at last, a full confession of it. Instead of confessing guilt, she had practically disproved some of the charges against her, had left the truth of others in doubt, and had confessed nothing, except the leap from the tower at Beaurevoir. Cauchon had not been able even to bribe her to change her dress. He and his supporters had come to realize that many of their colleagues were beginning to pity her, and they devoted themselves not only to proving Joan guilty, but to making her appear guilty by fair means or foul.

The two strongest reasons for believing Joan to be a witch were her dress and her insubordination; wrong in themselves, these things also made it unlikely that she was visited by saintly counselors. So important was it to convince the doubters of her obduracy, that at this time Cauchon probably did not wish her to yield on either of these points, while he tried to make her obstinacy odious to the assessors. On Palm Sunday, March 25, with three or four men upon whom he could rely, he went to Joan's cell and asked her if she would put on women's clothes provided she were allowed to hear mass in them. The great importance which he attached to the matter and the high price which he offered for her consent strengthened Joan's suspicions, as he probably wished; and she refused, asking to hear mass dressed as she was, and saying that her clothes did not burden her conscience. The prosecuting attorney, Estivet, thereupon took a note of her contumacy.[1]

At this stage of the proceedings, Joan's submission to the church would have been very embarrassing to Cauchon, for it would certainly have caused delay, beside strengthening the friendliness felt for her by some of the assessors. Several of these were trying to induce her to submit, and Cauchon thought it best to make her most

[1] P. i. 191 et seq.

generous offers; but he worded them so as to rouse her suspicions and caused her to be privately warned by Loiseleur or some other spy that, if she submitted to the church, she would find that she had submitted to himself. Very probably Joan perceived this without Loiseleur's help.[1]

On Tuesday in Holy Week, March 27, Joan was brought from her cell to a chamber of the castle where were assembled the bishop, the vice-inquisitor, and about forty assessors. Before reading the articles of indictment, Estivet addressed the court, praying that Joan be compelled to answer on oath the several articles to the best of her knowledge and belief, and that, if she refused to swear, she be considered in default and excommunicated accordingly. Should she fail to answer any of the counts after swearing to do so, he asked that they be taken as proved against her.[2] March 27–28, 1431.

The court took this request under advisement, and Cauchon called upon the assessors, one after another, to deliver their opinions. The first who spoke, a canon of Rouen, eagerly voted to proceed as Estivet had asked. Another canon, who spoke next, suggested that the indictment should first be read, and his opinion was supported by the two canons who followed him.[3] Thereafter nearly as many opinions were expressed as there were assessors, but only seven or eight of those voting were ready to grant the prosecutor's request, while many of them declared that Joan ought to have time for considering her answer, in case she wished it.[4]

[1] P. ii. 327, Houppeville; 332, Massieu.

[2] P. i. 195 et seq.

[3] It is to be observed that Venderès, the first canon, took office after the English capture of the city, while Pinchon, the second, had been chosen before the war broke out. See Beaurepaire, *Notes sur les juges*, 88, 94.

[4] P. i. 198 et seq.

Cauchon accepted the vote with as good a grace as he could assume, and bade Joan answer as to those matters of which she had knowledge, offering her a reasonable delay, if she desired delay in answering any particular article. He then made her a little address, saying that the court intended to proceed with all kindness and gentleness, seeking not to punish her body, but to bring her back into the way of truth and salvation. He told her that she might choose one or more of the persons present to act as her counsel, and he offered, if she so desired, to make the choice himself.[1]

No doubt this speech had its effect upon the timid assessors, who wished to believe that Cauchon was acting with reasonable fairness, but there was no one whom Joan dared to trust. "For what you say about my well-being and our Christian faith,"[2] she said, "I thank you and all the present company. For your offer of counsel, I thank you, too, but I have no intention of leaving the counsel of our Lord. As to the oath which you wish me to take, I am ready to swear to tell the truth about all which concerns this trial of yours."[3]

Courcelles, a learned delegate of the University of Paris, then stood up, and, after a short opening, in which he exhausted upon Joan the vocabulary of abuse,[4] began to read the indictment.[5] It was a portentous instrument,[6] in seventy articles or counts, the reading of which, with Joan's comments, took the rest of that day and the whole

[1] P. i. 200.

[2] "Nostre foy."

[3] P. i. 201.

[4] Apparently this preface was written by Estivet, and merely read by Courcelles. No doubt the abuse was partly a technical summary of the articles.

[5] I use the word "indictment" as expressing better than any other one English word the nature of the articles proposed by the "promotor seu procurator officii."

[6] P. i. 204–323.

of the next. The first three counts were introductory, the last five a rhetorical peroration with conclusions of law; the remaining sixty-two accused her of heresy, witchcraft, idolatry or blasphemy in connection with nearly every event of her life. Four concerned the use of charms in her childhood,[1] six the wearing of men's clothes,[2] three her political and military conduct,[3] five her correspondence with the count of Armagnac,[4] five her arms and banner,[5] three her leap at Beaurevoir,[6] twelve or more her visions and voices;[7] only one specifically charged her refusal to submit to the church.[8] Other counts concerned her life at Neufchâteau and Vaucouleurs, her relations with her early suitor and with Baudricourt, her boastfulness, presumptuousness, and love of riches.

Nearly every one of these counts was followed by excerpts from Joan's testimony, as if to support the charge therein contained. Not uncommonly, however, the testimony cited was a formal denial. Thus the seventh count charged Joan with carrying about the herb mandragora in reliance upon its efficacy, while the testimony cited to sustain the count consisted simply of her assertion that she had never carried mandragora, had not even see it, did not know what it was good for, and did not believe in it.[9] So the forty-seventh count, which charged her with blasphemous swearing, was supported by three several denials that she had ever done anything of the sort.[10] Only once was any testimony cited except her own. The fifty-sixth count rested upon the statement of Catherine of La Rochelle made to the ecclesiastical authorities of Paris. Somehow or other that foolish woman had found her way to the capital, perhaps with the intention of carrying out her favorite plan of converting the duke of

[1] iv.–vii. [2] xii.–xvi., xl. [3] xviii., liii., liv.
[4] xxvi.–xxx. [5] xix.–xxi., lviii., lix. [6] xli., xlvii., lxiv.
[7] xxxi.–xxxvii., xlii.–xlv., xlviii., li., lvi. [8] lxi.
[9] P. i. 213. [10] P. i. 272.

Burgundy. Being taken in hand by the English authorities, she had vented her spite against Joan by telling a story about two Councilors of the Fountain, said to be in Joan's service, and by a warning that Joan, unless well watched, would escape from prison with the Devil's help. Possibly the whole affair was planned by La Trémoille; at any rate, the Parisian authorities were so well satisfied with Catherine that they let her go back to Charles. Joan answered this farrago by saying that she did not know what a Councilor of the Fountain might be, though she thought that the saints had once spoken to her at the fountain near Domremy; on her oath she did not wish to be taken out of prison by the Devil.[1]

As Estivet read the counts one by one, Joan was called on to answer them severally. Many times she simply referred her judges to what she had said already; sometimes, exasperated or wearied by their misunderstandings, she told them that she left the whole matter to God.[2] Though she had usually been cautious in her answers, even at the beginning of the proceedings, yet occasionally she had been very frank, perhaps hoping that some of her judges meant to treat her fairly. She remembered that she had formerly been able to win over hostile or indifferent hearers, and she may have hoped to do so again; there had been a time when she had hoped that even the English generals would heed her. As she came to understand fully that Cauchon and those who controlled her trial intended by all means to convict her, she suspected a trap in every question, and was unwilling to do anything they asked of her. Generally, she was right in refusing, but her conduct furnished an excuse to those assessors who dared not declare her innocent, and yet did not wish unjustly to declare her guilty. To the charge that she would not put off men's clothes, even to receive the

[1] P. i. 295 et seq.; iv. 473, n.; Beaucourt, ii. 268.

[2] P. i. 284, 291, 295.

Eucharist, a matter concerning which she had long hesitated, she now said definitely that she would not change her dress to receive the sacrament, or for any other purpose.[1] The next count, the fifteenth, charged her with pretending that to obey her judges in this matter would displease God. Joan answered that she would rather die than renounce what she had done by the commandment of our Lord, and that as yet she could not change her dress, or even fix a time for changing it.[2] By his persistent demands, Cauchon had brought her to believe that her dress, instead of being a matter of expediency, as she had once considered it, was a divinely ordered part of her mission. If the judges would not let her hear mass, she added, it was in our Lord's power to cause her to hear it in spite of them, when it pleased Him.

Notwithstanding the number of the counts, their ambiguity and want of arrangement, and the rapidity with which she was forced to reply to them, Joan showed great keenness and discrimination in her answers. They charged her with asserting that she was sent by God for violence and bloodshed. "First I asked them to make peace," said Joan, "and in case they would not make peace, I was ready to fight."[3] When they reported that she had said, "All that I have done is by the counsel of our Lord," she corrected them, "All the good that I have done."[4] The fifty-first count charged her with boasting that Gabriel had come to her with a million of angels. Joan replied that she did not remember having mentioned the number.[5] "Contrary to the commands of God and the saints," so ran the fifty-third count, "the said Joan presumptuously and proudly undertook the government of men, by constituting herself the chief and leader of an army sometimes numbering sixteen thousand men, in which were princes, barons, and many other nobles, all of

[1] P. i. 225. [2] P. i. 227. [3] P. i. 243.
[4] P. i. 250. [5] P. i. 283.

whom she caused to serve under her, as under a commander-in-chief." "If I was commander-in-chief," said Joan, "it was to beat the English."[1]

Even in answering the indictment, Joan spoke once or twice with her old frankness, perhaps in the faint hope that some of her judges might yet be persuaded of the truth.[2] The fiftieth count charged her with calling her voices to her help and consulting them about her answers. "I will call them to my help as long as I live," said Joan. "How do you pray to them?" asked Cauchon. "I beg our Lord and our Lady to send me counsel and comfort, and they send it to me." "By what words do you pray to them?" insisted the judge. "Dearest God, for the honor of your holy passion, I pray you, if you love me, tell me how I ought to answer these priests. As for my dress, I know well the command I had to put it on, but I do not know how I ought to take it off. Therefore please you teach me. Then they come to me soon." "Through my voices I often hear news of you," she added. "What do they say of me?" asked the astonished and curious bishop, not quite easy in his mind. "I will tell you when we are alone together," said Joan. "To-day they have come to me three times," she went on with the same frankness. "Were they in your chamber?" asked Cauchon. "I have told you about that," Joan answered, half amused and half irritated at the bare materialism of the questions; "at any rate, I heard them well. St. Catherine and St. Margaret told me how I should answer about this dress of mine."[3] On that occasion, as on many others, probably they had told her to answer boldly.

In reply to the sixty-first count, which charged her with refusing to submit her deeds to the church militant, Joan had said that she wished to render to the church all possible honor and reverence, but that she must sub-

[1] P. i. 293. [2] See P. ii. 361, Miget. [3] P. i. 279.

mit her deeds to our Lord, who had made her do them. Being further pressed, she had asked three days' delay, until Saturday.[1] On Saturday, being Easter Eve, March 31, 1431. Cauchon visited her in prison with eight or nine of his trustiest assessors. Joan had taken counsel of her voices and had made up her mind what to say. Cauchon asked her if she would submit to the church all she had done, both good and bad, including the crimes with which she was charged. She answered that she would leave all to the church militant, provided that it did not bid her do that which was impossible. "What do you consider impossible?" asked the bishop. "It is impossible that I should declare that what I have done and said, and what I have testified to at this trial about my visions and revelations, has not been done and said by God's orders," said Joan; "and these things I will not deny on any account; and that which God has commanded me and shall command me to do, I will not renounce for any man living, and it is impossible for me to deny God's orders. In case the church shall wish to make me do anything contrary to the commandment God has given me, I will not do it on any account."[2]

The answer showed an obstinacy so satisfactory that Cauchon thought he might press her even farther, for the satisfaction of the doubting assessors. Suppose that the church militant should say that her revelations were either mere delusions, or else the wiles of the Devil, would she submit them to the church, he craftily asked. Joan replied that she would submit her deeds to our Lord, whose commandment she would always obey. That which she had testified about in the trial had happened to her by God's appointment, and whatever she had declared in the trial that she had done by his commandment she could not deny. In case the church militant should command her to deny it, she would not allow any man in the world,

[1] P. i. 314. [2] P. i. 324.

but only our Lord, to forbid her to do his good commands. Did she not think that she was subject to the church on earth, that is to say, the pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, insisted Cauchon, wishing to clinch the matter. "Yes, our Lord being first served,"[1] said Joan. The answer was not altogether what Cauchon had expected, and, changing the form of the question, he asked if it was by the command of her voices that she refused to submit to the church militant on earth. Joan replied that her answers did not come out of her own head, but were made by the command of her voices, and these did not command her to disobey the church, our Lord being first served.[2] Cauchon dropped the matter and left the prison. Joan passed her Easter without mass or communion.

April 1-4, 1431.

The articles of indictment prepared by Estivet, comprehensive as they were, did not satisfy the court. On some of the counts it was impossible for a self-respecting man to find Joan guilty. During several days in Easter week, Cauchon and some picked assessors labored to reduce the unwieldy indictment to a series of findings not too outrageously unfair. Apart from his exordium and peroration, as has been said, Estivet had framed sixty-two articles. More than twenty-five of these were now passed over altogether,[3] and several others in large part; what remained was condensed into twelve articles, of which the first was both an introduction and a synopsis. The other eleven severally dealt with the sign given to Charles, Joan's belief in her saintly visitors, her prophecies, dress, and manner of signing her letters, her relations with Baudricourt and the king, her leap at Beaurevoir, her assurance of salvation, her statement that her

[1] "Ouil, nostre Sire premier servi." P. i. 326.

[2] P. i. 325 et seq.

[3] iv.–ix., xi., xx., xxi., xxvi.–xxx., xlii., xlvii., lii.–lix., lxiii., lxv., and perhaps others.

voices favored the French, her veneration of the voices, and her refusal to submit to the church. Her belief in charms, her Councilors of the Fountain, her suitor, her armor, ring and banner, her assertion that St. Michael had hair, her fighting on feast days, her correspondence with the count of Armagnac and her love of riches, all this and much more disappeared.[1]

In their form, these twelve new articles differed altogether from Estivet's seventy.[2] They were not framed as an indictment, but resembled what is called technically a special verdict; that is to say, a bare statement of facts upon which the court might base its decision concerning the guilt or innocence of the accused. The twelve articles were free from vituperation, and stated nothing which had not some support from Joan's testimony, but they were skillfully prepared to give the most unfavorable impression consistent with literal truth. Though these articles were never approved by the great body of assessors, they were ever afterwards taken as a correct abstract of Joan's life, acts, and confessions.

[1] P. i. 328–336.

[2] Seventy, including the introduction and conclusion.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONVICTION AND THE RECANTATION.

April 5–17, 1431.

After Cauchon had thus found the facts of the case to his satisfaction, he prepared to take the next step in the proceedings, and to determine if the facts thus found established Joan's guilt. He did not propose to pass upon this question unaided, and as soon as the articles were framed, on April 5, he submitted them to the assessors and to many learned men in Rouen and elsewhere, asking if any part of the language Joan had used appeared to contradict the true faith, Holy Scripture, the Roman church, or the decisions of the church's doctors; also, if the same appeared scandalous, rash, seditious, insulting, criminal, immoral, or in any way offensive. An answer was requested in five days.[1]

The time was far too short, even for such a tribunal, and almost immediately it seems to have been extended. On April 12,[2] one week after the articles were published, twenty-two doctors and learned men, most of whom had served as assessors, met in the chapel of the archbishop's palace. Some of them were men upon whom Cauchon could rely, others were indifferent or even friendly to Joan. Sitting almost in public, dreading the English soldiers, who were angry at the law's delay, all those present yielded and joined in one opinion. This declared that Joan's visions did not come from God, and that the admitted facts showed her to have been guilty of conduct

[1] P. i. 327.

[2] So in the official report, i. 337; but see 424, 425, 428, where it is said to have been April 9.

scandalous, irreligious, and presumptuous, of blasphemy, impiety, schism, and heresy. Many other persons to whom the articles were sent eagerly availed themselves of this opinion, and simply declared their adherence to it, without further comment. Cauchon doubtless intended that it should have this effect, and that it should serve to quiet uneasy consciences.

About the middle of April, Joan fell ill. Warwick and the cardinal of Winchester, having the command in Rouen, sent for several physicians, to whom the earl spoke with great frankness. On no account, said he, was the king willing that Joan should die a natural death. She was dear to him, for he had bought her dear, and the physicians must take good care to cure her. They went to her cell accordingly, and found her feverish and sick at the stomach, certainly not an unnatural condition, when the foul air of the cell, her close confinement in chains, and the long-continued strain upon her nerves are considered. They felt her pulse, sounded her on the left side, and recommended bleeding, according to the practice of the day. Warwick hesitated to allow it. "Take care," he said, "she is tricky, and may kill herself." He yielded to their advice, however, and she began to mend at once; it is needless to say that she had no more intention of suicide than had Warwick himself.[1]

Before her recovery was complete, Cauchon visited her again to ask the oft-repeated question about her submission to the church. His precise intention is not quite clear. Her refusals, becoming more and more obstinate as she became sure that he meant only to entrap her, undoubtedly were persuading the hesitating assessors to find her guilty, and at times Cauchon plainly wished to be refused. On the other hand, at some time or other she must be brought to submission. If she died unrepentant, the French might still believe in her, and April 18, 1431.

[1] P. iii. 46, Tiphaine; 49, De la Chambre.

might maintain that she had been put to death unjustly. Cauchon's original position, that of a prejudiced judge who wishes justly to punish a person undoubtedly guilty, had gradually changed to that of an advocate, wishing by all means to convict an accused person, concerning whose guilt or innocence he cares little.

Having gone to Joan's cell, accompanied by several assessors, he told her that they all were come to bring her consolation and comfort in her sickness. He pointed out to her that she was illiterate and ignorant, and again he offered her honest and benevolent men for her instruction.[1] He then exhorted the assessors present to give her counsel fruitful for the saving of her soul and body, and he added that they all were churchmen willing and ready in all possible ways to help her as they would help their neighbors and themselves. If she refused to hear them, and trusted to her own judgment and to her inexperience, they must leave her; in that case she must consider the peril into which she would fall, a peril from which with all his strength and affection he was seeking to save her.[2]

This discourse was highly edifying to the assessors, no doubt, but the sick girl had come to distrust Cauchon so thoroughly that she disbelieved what he said, simply because he said it. "Considering how sick I am," she answered, "it seems to me that I am in great peril of death. If so be God wills to do his pleasure on me, I beg you to let me be confessed, and receive my Saviour, and be buried in consecrated ground." [3]

Cauchon told her that she could not be treated as a good Catholic unless she submitted to the church. "If my body dies in prison," said Joan, "I depend upon your putting it in consecrated ground; if you do not do so, I depend upon our Lord." The bishop insisted, and the discussion was continued between him and Joan in the usual fashion, though her answers are marked by weari-

[1] P. i. 375. [2] P. i. 376. [3] P. i. 377.

ness. At last Cauchon asked her if she did not wish to have made a fine and notable procession in order to bring her back into a good state, if she was not in one. Thus qualified, Cauchon's proposition seemed a fair one, but the proposed procession, if authorized by Joan, would have appeared to be a notable proof of her repentance for her evil deeds. Joan answered that she wished very much that the church and all Catholics should pray for her. Thereupon the bishop withdrew.[1]

Contests like these did Joan no good, and the foul abuse heaped upon her one day by Estivet, the prosecuting attorney, brought back her fever. The cautious Warwick interfered and forbade Estivet access to her cell. Thus relieved, her youth and healthy constitution soon got the better of her sickness, as they had done at Beaurevoir, and she was well again.[2]

In spite of the threats of the English and the wheedling and ingenuity of Cauchon, the opinion of the asses- April 18–30, 1431. sors concerning Joan's guilt was not so decided as the bishop had hoped. Some wished to wait for the opinion of the University of Paris,[3] some professed their ignorance and wished to leave the decision to those more learned than themselves, others took refuge in generalities. She was guilty, wrote John Basset, provided that her pretended revelations did not come from God; "which I do not believe," he added in his timid perplexity.[4] Three others were more outspoken in their doubt. If Joan's statements proceeded from an evil spirit or were made up by herself, they were as bad as the bishop's questions implied; if, on the other hand, they came from God, which

[1] P. i. 377 et seq.

[2] P. iii. 48, Tiphaine; 52, De la Chambre. Apparently, Joan thought that her illness was caused by eating a carp which Cauchon had sent her; it does not appear whether she suspected poison or not.

[3] See P. i. 350, 351, 355, 360.

[4] P. i. 343.

was not evident, no unfavorable interpretation should be put upon them.[1] Even the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen hesitated. At the first meeting no quorum appeared, and it was found necessary to threaten the absentees with the loss of a week's rations. When the chapter met a second time, the majority refused to pass upon Joan's guilt until she had again been warned to submit, and until the answer of the University of Paris should be received.[2]

May 2, 1431. Under these circumstances there was nothing for it but to send messengers to the university, and to administer another "charitable warning." On May 2, nearly a month after he had originally published the twelve articles, Cauchon gathered a great assembly of more than sixty assessors and made them an address. He informed them that for some time he had known well that the woman was very faulty, though no final judgment against her had been rendered. Before rendering judgment, it had seemed to many honest and conscientious men that he ought by every means to try to bring her into the way of truth. This had been attempted with all kindness by many learned doctors, but, through the craft of the Devil, as yet nothing had been accomplished; wherefore he had deputed John of Castillon, archdeacon of Evreux, to reason with the woman in the presence of the whole assembly, and to induce her to depart from her faults and crimes.[3]

Joan was then brought before the court, and was generally warned by the archdeacon to mend her deeds and words. When he paused, Joan advised him to go on and finish the written address which he held in his hand. "Then," said she, "I will answer you. I leave all to

[1] P. i. 369.

[2] P. i. 353, n.

[3] P. i. 381 et seq. For Castillon, see Beaurepaire, *Notes sur les juges*, 114.

God,[1] my Creator; I love Him with all my heart. I leave it to my judge,[1] who is the King of heaven and earth." Castillon went forward, accordingly, with an address in six heads,[2] concerning her clothes, her want of submission, her boasted sinlessness, her sign to Charles, her leap at Beaurevoir, and other matters. His tone and his assumptions were such as to make Joan's submission an impossibility, and probably he, or Cauchon for him, intended to prevent any submission.

This, at any rate, was the result. "I am sure that the church militant can neither err nor fail," said Joan, "but as to my deeds and words, I leave them altogether to God, who made me do whatever I have done." If she did not submit, they told her, she would be adjudged a heretic and burned. "I will say nothing more to you," she answered. "Even if I should see the fire, I should say what I am saying now."[3] The steady insistence of Cauchon had driven her to refuse submission much more emphatically than she would have done two months before. Not improbably, also, Loiseleur had been at work, strengthening her suspicions.

Encouraged by her obstinacy, Cauchon risked an offer bolder than any he had yet made. Would she leave to the archbishop of Rheims, La Trémoille, La Hire, and others of her own party, the determination of the sign shown to Charles VII., asked the examiner. Joan was caught in her own play upon words, for no one but herself understood her double meaning, and, besides, she did not trust Cauchon to state the question fairly to the French. "Give me a messenger, and I will write to them all about this trial," she answered; upon no other terms

[1] "Je me actend à Dieu, mon créateur, de tout. Je m'en actend à mon juge." Literally, "I wait upon God," in the biblical sense. P. i. 385.

[2] P. i. 386–392.

[3] P. i. 392, 393.

would she accept their decision. Supposing that three or four knights of her own party should be brought to Rouen by safe-conduct, would she leave the matter of her visions to their decision, insisted the bishop, who saw that she was ready to refuse everything. Joan told him to bring the men first, and then she would answer him. She feared, as he intended her to fear, that he was tricking her, or, perhaps, that some knights of La Trémoille's faction might be found who would not be unwilling to condemn her. Her obstinacy satisfied Cauchon, and he closed the hearing, warning her solemnly that she was in danger of being abandoned by the church, and so of losing her soul in eternal, her body in temporal fire. He could not cow her. "You cannot do to me as you say," she answered, "without evil befalling you, both body and soul."[1]

At last the chapter of Rouen was convinced, and de-
May 4–8, 1431. clared its belief that Joan was a heretic, basing its opinion largely upon her refusal to submit to the judgment of those of her own party.[2] Some other waverers were won over,[3] and nearly all the persons consulted committed themselves in writing to the opinion that Joan was guilty. Cauchon could trust the University of Paris, whose opinion had not yet come to hand.

Though he had brought the assessors to agree to Joan's condemnation, the bishop knew well that more remained to be done. Had she submitted to the church at any time before the assessors had agreed that she was guilty, he might not have been able to secure that agreement; at any rate, there might have been indefinite delay. Now that her guilt was established,[4] to secure her submission

[1] P. i. 396 et seq.

[2] P. i. 353, 355. The opinion of the chapter was dated May 4.

[3] See P. i. 349, 356.

[4] The proceedings of the French tribunal differ so much from those of a modern English court that it is hard to find apt words to describe them. By their written opinions, the assessors and other persons con-

was become a moral necessity, in order that she might be shown to the world a self-confessed impostor or a witch. That very submission which Cauchon had feared she might make only a few days before, he was now most anxious to force upon her. He knew that the task would not be easy, but he had one method as yet untried. On May 9, a week after his last charitable warning, Joan was brought into the donjon of the castle, where were placed the rack and other instruments of torture. May 9, 1431.

Cauchon requested her to tell the truth in those matters about which she had lied at her trial. He showed the instruments of torture set out before her, and pointed to the men who, as he said, were ready at his command to put her to the torment in order to bring her back into the way of truth and salvation.

"In truth," Joan answered, "if you tear me limb from limb, and make my soul leave my body, I will tell you nothing but what I have told you already; and, if I shall say anything else, hereafter I will always declare that you made me say it by force." She went on to tell them that she had asked her voices if she ought to submit to the church; they had told her that if she wished our Lord to help her, she must leave all her deeds to Him. She knew well that our Lord had been the master of her deeds, and that the Enemy never had had power over them. She had asked her voices if she should be burnt, and they had told her to leave herself in God's hands and He would help her.[1] The court had not determined to put her to actual torture, so she was taken back to her cell and left there in suspense. The wretch who should have tortured her testified afterwards that she answered so discreetly that the assessors were amazed.[2]

sulted had declared their belief that Joan was guilty; but the formal judgment of guilty was not yet rendered.

[1] P. i. 399 et seq.

[2] P. iii. 185, Leparmentier.

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After three days, Cauchon summoned thirteen[1] asses-
May 12, 1431. sors to his house and asked them if they thought it advisable to put Joan to the torture. The first who gave his opinion, a canon of influence and importance,[2] said that the trial had hitherto been so well managed that it ought not to be brought into disrepute. The large majority, including the vice-inquisitor, agreed to this decision. One of them observed that there was plenty of proof without torture, some thought that torture was inexpedient for the time, some even wished that still another "charitable warning" should be administered. Three only voted for torture, — Morel, a lawyer; Courcelles, a deputy of the University of Paris; and the spy Loiseleur, the last saying that it seemed to him well to torture Joan for the healing of her soul. Eleven were on the side of mercy.[3] How much their votes were governed by pity for Joan, how much by other reasons, is not clear; many assessors did pity her sincerely. Probably Joan was given no notice of this vote, and so was left day after day to expect another call to the torture chamber.

About a week later, the men deputed to visit the Uni-
May 19, 1431. versity of Paris returned to Rouen. They had taken with them letters from the English royal council and from Cauchon,[4] and they had been received with much honor. They brought back a dutiful letter to Henry VI., and a fulsome address to the bishop, very different from the sharp complaints which the university had made to him when it believed him to be backward in prosecuting Joan. "May the Great Shepherd when He shall appear," so the last sentence ran, "deign to re-

[1] Besides Lemaître, vicar of the inquisitor-general.

[2] Raoul Roussel. See Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 90.

[3] P. i. 403. Seven of these had been present at Joan's refusal to testify.

[4] P. i. 409.

ward your shepherdlike care with an immortal crown of glory."[1]

The substance of the university's message was contained in two elaborate opinions, rendered by the faculties of theology and of canon law and adopted by the whole university, concerning the guilt of Joan as manifested in the twelve articles. These opinions admitted neither doubt nor condition of any sort. Her visions were either lies manufactured by herself or the productions of Satan, Belial, and Behemoth. She was declared to be boastful, foolish, treacherous, deceitful, cruel, bloodthirsty, seditious, blasphemous, undutiful, rash, a fatalist, uncharitable, idolatrous, schismatical, apostate, and finally a heretic. One argument of the faculty of canon law is worth repeating. She lies, said the faculty, in saying that she is sent by God, for she shows no miracle or particular testimony of Scripture, like Moses, who turned his rod into a serpent and back again into a rod, or like John the Baptist, who said of himself, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, as saith the prophet Isaiah."[2] If Joan had applied to herself some passage of Scripture, it seems that she might have passed for orthodox.

Cauchon caused these decisive letters to be read in the presence of a great body of assessors, and then asked them one by one[3] what ought next to be done in the case. Many accepted the opinion of the university as to Joan's heresy, and advised that she be handed over at once to the secular arm. Many were willing to declare her a heretic without qualification, but would not condemn her to death without another "charitable warning." Several desired a "charitable warning" before pronouncing on her heresy.[4] In some way or other the "charitable

[1] P. i. 410.
[2] P. i. 418.
[3] P. i. 404, 422.
[4] Such as Houdenc, Maugier, Grouchet, and others. P. i. 425, 427.

warning" must be given, and Cauchon appointed it for May 23.

It was delivered to Joan in a chamber near her cell by Peter Maurice, a canon of Rouen.[1] The substance of the twelve articles was rehearsed, together with the abusive comments of the university. There followed an address, reasonably temperate in language, but assuming throughout Joan's guilt. It closed as follows: "Therefore I warn, beseech, and exhort you, by the love you bear to the passion of your Creator, and the desire you have for the safety of your soul and body, that you correct the sins I have mentioned and return to the way of truth, by obeying the church and submitting to its judgment. By so doing you will save your soul, and you will, as I think, redeem your body from death. If you do not return, but persist, know that your soul will fall into damnation — and I fear your body will be destroyed. From all which may Jesus Christ deign to keep you." "I refer you," Joan answered, "to what I have done and said in the trial, and that I will uphold." Would she submit to the church, they asked her for the last time. "What I have said and done during the trial, I will stand by," she repeated. "If I were now at the judgment seat, and if I saw the torch burning, and the fagots laid, and the executioner ready to light the fire; if I were in the fire, I would say nothing else, and would stand by what I said at the trial, even to death." There was no question left to put. Cauchon asked Estivet and Joan if they had anything more to say, and, as they had not, he withdrew. In the margin of the record, opposite her last words, the scribe wrote his comment, "The proud answer of Joan."[2]

May 23, 1431.

The same day she was formally served with a summons to appear next morning and receive final sentence. Be-

[1] None of the assessors were present who were inclined to favor Joan.

[2] P. i. 437 et seq.

fore beginning the account of the last week of her life, with its many remarkable and sudden changes, it is necessary to consider her state of mind.

Throughout her trial, as is made clear by her answers, she was sustained by the belief that God and his saints would by some means deliver her. This belief, indeed, was not constant and unwavering; at one time she almost expected to die of fever, more than once she faced the possibility of death by fire. Nevertheless, her voices, in telling her to be of good courage and to answer boldly, had promised her God's help if she obeyed, and her courage had been kept up by her belief in this promise. She was no ascetic, no mediæval saint, and she shrank from death with the fear and horror natural to a girl of nineteen. As it became certain that she would be burnt if she persisted, in spite of the promise on which she had relied, the natural temptation to escape by submission must, at times, have been strengthened by a suspicion that the spirits who were abandoning her might come from the Devil.

Had she been left to herself and to her brutal keepers, this suspicion probably would not have greatly troubled her, but the shrewdest means were used to increase it. More and more frequently learned doctors and eloquent friars visited her, most of them in all kindness trying to save her body and soul. It was infinitely harder for her to resist their arguments than if she had been a Hussite or a Waldensian heretic. Such a man would have received the condemnation of the whole Roman church, from the pope downward, with defiant scorn, and would absolutely have refused to submit to it at the outset of his trial; he would have been quite unmoved, therefore, by the spiritual threats or the blandishments of his judges. Joan was no heretic, but a simple and devout Catholic. She believed in the supremacy of the pope, she recognized the authority of the church and her duty of submission.

This duty had seemed at times incompatible with complete faith in her voices, but she always held it in theory, and tried hard to reconcile the two things in word and action. When her visitors urged submission, they appealed not only to the weariness of chains and imprisonment, the weakness of recent sickness, the fear of pain, the shrinking from insult and outrage, to her love of life and her dread of death, but also to the plainest teachings of her childhood.

May 24, 1431. The appeal was skillfully made by some of the timid assessors, who had strained their consciences to condemn her, and hoped that she would escape after all. Cauchon approved, having already, as is likely, planned the manner of her death. Early on the morning of Thursday, May 24, the day appointed for her sentence and execution, several of the assessors visited her. They passed over all details of wrong-doing, and said nothing about most of the matters mentioned in the articles. A simple submission to the church, they told her, would be sufficient, and, as evidence of submission, a change of dress. To what they said Joan listened.[1]

The cemetery of St. Ouen, just south of the magnificent abbey church, was the place chosen for the ceremony of Joan's sentence. In the large open space two platforms had been built, one for the judges and the distinguished spectators, the other for exhibiting Joan to the people.[2] Early in the morning she was taken from her cell, put into a wagon, and driven to the place.[3] Being led upon the platform, she found herself in the presence of a great crowd, assembled by the liveliest curiosity. Before her, on the other platform, beside Cauchon, the vice-inquisitor, and many of the assessors whom she had seen at her trial, were Cardinal Beaufort, the great-uncle

[1] P. ii. 20, Beaupere. See P. iii. 60, Courcelles.

[2] P. iii. 54, Bp. of Noyon; 61, Courcelles; 122, Macy.

[3] P. ii. 351, La Pierre.

of Henry VI., Louis of Luxemburg, bishop of Thérouanne, Henry's chancellor in France, the English bishop of Norwich and the French bishop of Noyon, the great Norman abbots of Mont St. Michel and of Abélard's monastery of Bec. Warwick and the English captains, also, were in the audience, with English soldiers, citizens of Rouen, and strangers passing through the town.

The church's sentence of condemnation was usually preceded by a sermon, which exhorted the sinner to repentance and improved his example as a warning to the multitude. The preacher at St. Ouen was William Erard. According to his servant, he had no liking for the duty, and wished himself in Flanders.[1] He did not dare to refuse, however, and, having undertaken the task, he spoke with much vehemence from the text, "The branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine." In order to please his English hearers, he reviled Charles VII. for trusting in a witch and seeking to recover his kingdom by her aid. Sitting near him upon the same platform, Joan had listened in silence to his abuse of herself, but at this remark she interrupted Erard, and told him not to speak of her king, inasmuch as he was a good Christian. "Silence her," cried the angry preacher.[2]

The sermon over, Erard turned to her, and in milder phrase told her that inasmuch as she had done some things which could not be defended, the judges required her to submit her words and deeds to mother church. His demand was not merely formal; there were other priests on the platform, and they crowded about her, begging her to submit. It was submission or death, they told her; the executioner with his cart was waiting close by to carry her to the stake.[3] While Erard was preaching, Joan's voices had told her to answer him boldly,[4] and she had

[1] P. iii. 113.
[2] P. ii. 15, 344, Manchon; 367, Ladvenu; iii. 54, Bp. of Noyon.
[3] P. iii. 65, Monnet; 147, 149, Manchon.
[4] P. i. 456, J.'s test.

done so, but at the thought of being burnt within an hour she wavered for the first time. The priest said nothing to her now about the petty matters with which they had harassed her at the trial. They asked only submission to the church, and that, as she knew, priests were accustomed to ask. Submission to the church, it seemed, could hardly be wrong.

Once more her voices prevailed. "I will answer you," she said. "Let my deeds and words be sent to Rome to our holy father the pope, to whom, and to God, first of all, I trust myself. As for the words and deeds I have done, I have done them by the command of God." Doubt had entered her mind, however, and it found characteristic expression. "I hold no one responsible for my acts," she went on, "neither my king nor any one else, and, if there is any fault, it is mine and not another's." She was still willing to stake her own salvation on the truth of her voices, but not the reputation of her king.

Would she recant those things which had been found blameworthy by the churchmen, they asked her. "I leave all to God and to our holy father the pope," she answered. They told her that the pope was far away, and that the bishops were judges, each in his own diocese; still she would not yield. The solemn warning was repeated a second time and a third, while the priests labored with her, asking only submission.[1]

To the English soldiers the delay seemed long, and there were murmurs in the crowd. Some angrily called on Cauchon to pronounce sentence, others threatened the priests who surrounded Joan. Still the bishop paused, determined to accomplish his purpose; but Joan did not yield. At last he arose and began reluctantly to read the sentence of condemnation which delivered Joan to the secular arm, that is, to death.[2] The priests, however, did not give over their efforts, some acting in good faith,

[1] P. i. 444 et seq. [2] P. i. 446.

others under Cauchon's orders. "Joan, do as you are told; do you want to make us kill you? Believe me, you may be saved if you wish. Change your dress, and do as you are bidden, otherwise you will be put to death. If you do what I tell you, you will be saved; you shall be well off, and come to no harm; you shall be delivered up to the church." A paper was thrust into her hands; she hesitated, they almost forced her to sign it. In the confusion she said something which was taken for submission, and they begged Cauchon to stop. He did so, willingly enough, but the tumult increased; some called Cauchon a traitor, and stones were thrown at Joan.

How she signed the abjuration — indeed, what abjuration she signed — cannot be known with certainty. The document which appears in the report of the trial she never signed with knowledge of its contents. She could not read; in the great crowd of shouting people, she could hardly have heard the abjuration, even if it was read to her. Some of the lookers-on thought that she made her mark upon a writing of a few lines, and that a longer document was forged for official use; according to the recollection of others, she signed a document which was never explained to her. However that may be, — and Cauchon was quite capable of forgery, — she certainly believed that she promised simply to submit to the church and to put on women's dress, leaving other matters to be settled afterwards. "You take great pains to persuade me," she said to the priests, — with a smile on her lips, as the bystanders thought. Then she put her mark on something.[1]

[1] P. i. 446 et seq.; ii. 17, 331, Massieu; 338, Desert; iii. 52, De la Chambre; 54, Bp. of Noyon; 61, Courcelles; 64, Monnet; 90, Marcel; 122, Macy; 132, Miget; 146, Manchon; 156, Massieu; 194, Moreau; 197, Taquel. In this mass of evidence there are some discrepancies, but not more important than is natural under the circumstances.

In his *Aperçus nouveaux*, p. 133 et seq., M. Quicherat maintains that Cauchon was incapable of forging Joan's abjuration, or of sub-

The abjuration signed, Cauchon pronounced the sentence, which he had made ready in the hope of her submission.[1] It was in Latin, and Joan could not have understood it, even if the noise about her and her distress of mind had allowed her to hear it. After setting forth her crimes, it showed that she had abjured them, and with a contrite heart had returned to the bosom of the church; wherefore Cauchon released her from excommunication. For salutary penance, he sentenced her to perpetual im-

stituting another document for the one actually signed. Herein it seems to me that M. Quicherat is carried too far by his proper reaction against the exaggerated charges of irregularity made against the bishop by most authors. Cauchon did not stick at irregularities when they were necessary, as witness the depositions concerning Joan's last morning, which Manchon refused to attest, and which Cauchon yet introduced into the papers of the trial. M. Quicherat disregards the testimony given at the second trial concerning the abjuration, alleging that it was biased in favor of Joan. Doubtless this is true, but its amount is too considerable and its agreement too marked to be treated lightly, especially as some of it comes from witnesses who did not hesitate to speak their minds. M. Quicherat treats the testimony of Joan herself as of controlling force, and therein he seems to me quite right. He says that she did not deny having abjured her voices, but asserted merely that she did not so understand the document she signed; which, I confess, seems to me a civil way of saying the same thing. M. Quicherat adds that she reproached herself with having been guilty of sin in order to save her life. This is true; but because she admitted weakness in changing her dress and in her general promise of submission, it does not follow that she admitted all other possible weaknesses in addition. The sin of denying her voices she seems to me to have asserted that she did not commit. I think it reasonably clear, therefore, that there was either forgery, substitution, or total and probably intentional misunderstanding. Boisguillaume said that the abjuration was read to Joan, but that she did not understand it. Moreau could not remember anything about it, except a mention of treason, which is not to be found in the existing abjuration. Taquel testified that Massieu read an abjuration of six lines or thereabouts. Certainly these statements furnish no particular evidence that Joan intelligently signed an abjuration containing considerably over three hundred words. See P. iii. 156, 164, 194, 197.

[1] P. i. 461; iii. 146.

prisonment on the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, in order that she might repent her sins, and commit no more deeds to be repented of.[1] As she was led away to her perpetual prison, there was question what that prison should be. Joan seems to have asked, as was reasonable, that, having been condemned by the church, she should be kept in the church's prison. Many, perhaps most, of the assessors would have liked to grant her request, but their opinion was not asked.[2] "Lead her to the place from which you took her," said the bishop; and they led her back to her old cell,[3] letting her hope, it may be, that she was soon to be removed. There, in the same afternoon, she was visited by the vice-inquisitor, and, after hearing a little homily on the duty of persisting in her submission, she put on women's clothes and allowed her hair to be cut and arranged so that she no longer wore it man-fashion.[4]

Some of the English were so angry with Cauchon for favoring Joan that he appealed to the cardinal for protection.[5] He was entitled to it. He had spared Joan's life for the moment, indeed, but she herself had destroyed her own reputation, as no power of his could have destroyed it. To take her life at any time was a matter comparatively easy. When Warwick complained to the bishop and those with him, saying that the king would be displeased at Joan's escape, one of them answered, "Do not vex yourself, my lord; we shall soon have her again."[6]

[1] P. i. 450.
[2] P. iii. 59, Courcelles.
[3] P. ii. 14, Manchon; ii. 18, iii. 157, Massieu; iii. 175, Lefèvre.
[4] P. i. 452.
[5] P. ii. 355, iii. 184, Marguerie; iii. 55, Bp. of Noyon.
[6] P. ii. 376, Fave.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE RELAPSE AND THE EXECUTION.

To understand that which took place in the last week of Joan's life, it is necessary to know what was the feeling of the English, of Cauchon, and of Joan herself, after she had signed her abjuration and had put on woman's dress.

May 24–27, 1431.

All Englishmen in Rouen except Warwick and a few other leaders were furious. They were sure that they had been betrayed. Their greatest enemy, who had cost them so dear, in men, in territory, and in money paid to buy her, had cheated their revenge. She had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, indeed, but they had wished and expected her death. This she had escaped, miserable witch though she was, by some legal technicality, or, as seemed more likely, by the connivance of her treacherous countrymen, whom the English had been foolish enough to make her judges. The hatred which Englishmen had naturally felt for Joan before her capture was little affected by her testimony or by her bearing at her trial. Most of them had hardly seen her; few of them could fully understand what she said. The angry, savage soldiers were ready to vent their wrath on any Frenchman, especially if he were a Frenchman connected with Cauchon's tribunal.[1]

To Cauchon, doubtless, this turbulence of the English seemed unreasonable,[2] for he knew that his craft was

[1] See P. ii. 357, Grouchet; 376, Fave.

[2] P. ii. 322, Bouchier; 338, Desert; 355, Marguerie; ii. 361, iii. 130, Miget; iii. 55, Bp. of Noyon; 90, Marcel; 147, Manchon.

serving their cause more effectually than their own blind rage. His plan had been formed for weeks, perhaps for months, and so far he had succeeded in carrying it out. He might easily have killed Joan, either after a hasty trial or by poison or ill usage in prison; and thus have made her a martyr. Instead of doing so, he had made her discredit herself by recanting her errors and changing her dress. Having destroyed her marvelous reputation, wherein lay her real strength, he prepared to complete his work by putting to death with all due formality the poor self-convicted witch, half impostor, half deluded by the Devil, who would soon revoke her recantation and so destroy her last chance of life.

After the churchmen had left her on Thursday afternoon, Joan sat in her cell, with the cut of her hair changed and in woman's dress, but chained and guarded as usual,[1] kept just as she had been kept since she reached Rouen. In that cell, in those chains, and with like soldiers for her keepers, she was condemned to pass the rest of her life. By her abjuration she had gained nothing. She had signed the paper and had changed her dress in order to escape from the custody of brutal soldiers into that of decent priests, and in order to receive the sacrament. The sacrament had not been given her, the priests apparently had left her forever, and by her change of dress she had exposed herself more than before to the lust of her keepers.

Her voices spoke to her. For six years they had been her constant comfort. Without them, as she said, she would have died in prison, and, except for the folly of a moment at Beaurevoir, a fault easily forgiven, she had always obeyed them. That morning, even if she had not actually denied them, yet she had openly shown her distrust of them, and at the last moment had failed to answer her judges boldly for fear of death.

[1] P. ii. 18, Massieu.

To escape the terrible reproach of her voices, and in the hope of regaining the peace of mind she had lost, she confessed her shame and cowardice to her keepers,[1] probably because her remorse would not let her be quiet, and they were the only persons to whom she could speak. They paid little attention to her words; the plan formed to entrap her was intended to secure more material proof of her relapse. What she endured on Friday and Saturday cannot be precisely known, — how carefully her guards and others in the plot stopped at threats, and how far they went in actual violence and outrage. The natural exasperation of the English soldiers needed no urging; in woman's dress she was treated far worse than when she was dressed as a man.[2] Doubtless her sufferings seemed to her the just punishment of her cowardice.

In her agony she may have cried out for the clothes she used to wear; at any rate, they were deliberately placed where she could reach them. According to one story, the guards took away the new dress while she was asleep, and refused to give it back;[3] but such an act would have provided her with legal justification for the change, and therefore would hardly have been allowed. Within

[1] P. i. 462.

[2] Ladvenu is reported to have testified that Joan told him that an English nobleman had violated her. P. ii. 8. Later he testified that she told him the Englishman had attempted it. P. ii. 365; iii. 168. The second story corresponds better with the testimony of other witnesses. See P. ii. 5, 305, La Pierre; 300, Manchon; 306, Cusquel; P. iii. 149, Manchon; 201, Daron.

[3] This is the account given by the sergeant Massieu. P. ii. 18, 333; iii. 157. The reasons given in the text seem to me conclusive, inasmuch as there is no reason why Joan herself should not have told the story to the judges if it had been true. Of course, the man's dress was put within her reach. See P. ii. 305, La Pierre; iii. 55, Bp. of Noyon; 113, Lenozole. The official report makes Joan say that she had put on the dress without compulsion, and Manchon would hardly have attested a falsehood on this point. P. i. 455.

two days she had put on again her old tunic and cloak and leggings.[1]

News of what she had done was brought to Cauchon. Thus far his plan had succeeded perfectly, and without undue haste he pursued it to the end. On the afternoon of Trinity Sunday he directed Beaupère, a delegate of the University of Paris and one of Joan's examiners, to visit her in her cell. He was commanded to admonish Joan to persist in her submission, and doubtless he was to certify her relapse, if he should find that she had returned to her former evil ways.[2]

The prison was locked and the jailer could not be found. As Beaupère waited in the court-yard of the castle with the assessors who accompanied him, the English soldiers gathered about them, calling them false traitor Armagnacs. The churchmen were timid. Beaupère could not understand English, and asked Midi, one of his colleagues, what the soldiers wanted. Midi reported that the men said it would be a good job to throw them both into the river. At this all took fright and rushed out across the drawbridge into the town, followed by the soldiers shouting and brandishing their swords. Cauchon had not been able to take the whole English garrison into his secret.[3]

On the next day, Monday, May 28, four days after the recantation, Cauchon himself, with the vice-inquisitor, several assessors, and the notaries, went to Joan's cell in order to establish formally the fact of her relapse. This time the English soldiers were kept under control, and the journey was made in safety.[4] They found Joan in her old dress, her face stained with tears and so marked and disfigured that one assessor took pity on her.[5] The kindly Dominican knew nothing of her re- May 28, 1431.

[1] See P. i. 454, 462.
[2] P. ii. 21, Beaupère.
[3] P. ii. 14, Manchon ; 21, Beaupère.
[4] P. ii. 14, Manchon.
[5] P. ii. 5, La Pierre.

morse and the reproach of her voices, and he laid all her distress to the outrages of her keepers.

Cauchon proceeded at once to business, and asked when and why she had put on again the dress of a man. For a little while, according to the official report, Joan tried to evade an answer, saying that she had acted of her own free will, that she preferred man's dress, that she did not think she had sworn never to wear it again. Apparently she was shamefaced, as she had been before, but at last she was forced to answer plainly. While living among men, she said, it was more fitting and decent for her to wear a man's dress than a woman's, and she added that they had not kept their promises to her, namely, that she should receive the sacrament and have her irons knocked off. Being further questioned, she answered that she would rather die than be kept in chains, and that, if they would commit her to a proper prison, she would dress as they pleased.[1]

From her dress Cauchon passed to her voices. He had heard, so he told her, that she now held to the deceitful and pretended visions which she had just abjured, and he asked her if, since last Thursday, she had heard her voices. She answered yes.

What had they said to her, pursued Cauchon. God had bidden St. Catherine and St. Margaret tell her, Joan answered, what a great shame was the treason[2] to which she had consented in forswearing and recanting to save her life. Her voices warned her that she was damning herself to save her life. Up to last Thursday they had told her what to do, and she had done it. Even when she was on the scaffold in face of the people, they had told her to answer Erard boldly. "He was a lying preacher," she continued, "and charged me with many things which I had not done. If I should say that God did not send me, I should damn myself, for it is true that God did

[1] P. i. 455. [2] "La grande pitié de la trayson."

send me. Since last Thursday my voices have been telling me that I did great wrong in confessing that what I had done was not well done. Whatever I said was said from fear of the fire."[1]

"Do you believe that your voices are those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret?" asked Cauchon. "Yes," Joan answered, "theirs and God's."[2]

Opposite one of Joan's replies, the scribe wrote on the margin of the page the words "fatal answer." Cauchon had heard enough to send her to the stake, but he continued his examination, seeing, perhaps, that she was worn out, and hoping that in her distress she had lost some of her usual keenness. He told her that when she stood on the scaffold, before the judges and the people, she had confessed that her story about St. Catherine and St. Margaret was a lying boast. Joan replied that she did not understand that she had confessed anything of the sort. She did not understand that she had denied that the voices were those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret; whatever she had said, she had said through fear of the fire. She would rather do penance once, by dying, than suffer longer in prison; she had really done nothing against God or the Christian faith, whatever she might have said in her recantation; and, as to the writing she had signed, she did not comprehend it. She had intended to admit nothing, except with the proviso that it should so please God. If the judges wished, she would again put on woman's dress, but she would do nothing more. Cauchon thereupon withdrew;[3] in leaving the castle, he laughed and told the English to make themselves quite easy, as the job was done.[4] Though her fate was settled, Joan was left in suspense for thirty-six hours or more, partly, perhaps, in mere neglect, partly that she might yield the more easily at the last.

[1] P. i. 456, 457.
[2] P. i. 457.
[3] P. i. 457 et seq.
[4] P. ii. 5, La Pierre; 8, Ladvenu.

The day after his visit to her cell, on Tuesday, May 29, Cauchon held the last sitting of his court. To some forty assessors he rehearsed the history of Joan's abjuration and relapse, reading the minutes of her answers made on the preceding day. He then asked the assessors to advise him what he should do.

May 29, 1431.

There was but one thing to be done, and the assessors, with more or less reluctance, voted to do it. Some with bald directness, some in gentler phrase, voted that Joan was a relapsed heretic, and should be delivered to the lay tribunal for punishment.[1] One man only, Peter, prior of Longueville Giffard, wished to give her another chance to recant. The sergeant was ordered to bring her to the place of execution at eight o'clock on the next morning.[2]

Hitherto Cauchon's plans had succeeded. Throughout her trial Joan had been obstinate, and her obstinacy had insured her conviction. At sight of the fire her obstinacy had given way and she had seemed to confess herself a witch, thus admitting what Cauchon had found it so hard to prove. After she had been taken back to her cell, her obstinacy had reappeared and caused her relapse, thus condemning her irrevocably to death. But one thing was left for Cauchon to do, namely, to overcome her obstinacy a second time and secure another recantation, which would send her to the stake confessing the justice of her punishment.

To seem to do this was not hard. No one could visit Joan's cell except by Cauchon's permission, and so he

[1] "Relinquenda justitiæ seculari." This was equivalent, of course, to a judgment of death by burning, — the sentence always passed by the lay tribunal upon persons delivered to it by the ecclesiastical tribunal. The ecclesiastical tribunal could not shed blood, and so could not of itself execute a capital sentence.

[2] P. i. 459 et seq. The second assessor to vote, the abbot of Fécamp, while voting that Joan should be delivered to the lay tribunal, voted also that the minutes of her relapse should be read to her. Many other assessors adopted his opinion, yet the minutes were not read.

could tell an uncontradicted story of what went on there. The assessors who pitied Joan would wish to believe that she died penitent, and, in all kindness, would give to her words a meaning which allowed her a last chance of eternal salvation. In one matter Joan herself would help the bishop's plan; for months she had been demanding the Eucharist, and, with death only a few hours distant, she was sure to ask it more earnestly than ever. It could be given, of course, only to a contrite penitent, and Joan's reception of it would seem proof of her contrition for the great sin of which she was accused. Cauchon knew, moreover, that the fearful strain of the past week had weakened Joan more than months of imprisonment. By the sudden announcement that she was to be burned in a few hours, he expected to break her down completely.

A week later, when all was over, he assembled the priests who saw her in her cell on the last morning of her life, and caused their statements of what had happened there to be written down, in order to show that she had again abjured her errors. This irregular evidence the official notary would not attest, though ordered to do so by Cauchon;[1] some of it is manifestly false, some of it was afterwards contradicted by the witnesses themselves. Untrustworthy as it is in important particulars, yet the true story of the morning may be gathered from it, when it has been corrected by other testimony and by the probabilities of the case. Allowance must be made, also, for the pressure applied to the witnesses by Cauchon, and for their natural bias.

Soon after daylight on Wednesday morning there went to Joan's cell Peter Maurice, a respectable priest, and the spy Loiseleur, in whose friendship she still believed.[2] They warned her that her end was May 30, 1431.

[1] P. ii. 14, Manchon. Midi and Courcelles were paid to June 10 inclusive; Maurice to June 7. P. v. 208.

[2] Maurice and Loiseleur were the first in the cell. P. i. 481, Toutmouillé; 484, Loiseleur. See ii. 343.

near, and begged her to speak the truth, particularly about the angel who, as she said, had brought the crown to Charles. In the face of death Joan would no longer play upon words; without more ado, she told them the exact truth, acknowledging that she was the angel, and that the crown she had brought was the promise of coronation fulfilled at Rheims.[1]

Maurice then asked about the saints she had seen and the voices she had heard, hoping that she would confess that they, too, were only fictions or allegories. This was not true, and Joan stoutly affirmed that both visions and voices were real. Again and again Maurice repeated his question in varying form. Joan said that she often heard her voices at Compline, when the church bells rang, and Maurice suggested that church bells sometimes sound in men's ears like human voices. Joan persisted that she had really heard the voices. Maurice then told her that they must be the voices of evil spirits, intending thus to shake her belief, but she answered simply, "Be they good spirits or bad, they did really appear to me." From this she could not be shaken.[2]

While Maurice and Loiseleur were laboring with her, two Dominicans joined them, Martin Ladvenu and John Toutmouillé.[3] The former was especially commissioned by Cauchon to tell Joan that, within two or three hours, she was to be burnt at the stake. Ladvenu was a man of no great force, easily induced to say and to do what he was told, but he pitied Joan sincerely.[4] As gently as he could he gave her his message. To Joan it came as a shock. She had spoken of death, doubtless she had ex-

[1] P. i. 480, Maurice; 484, Loiseleur.

[2] P. i. 480, 481. As to the angels, Maurice says she told him that they appeared as a multitude of very small things. So, also, Ladvenu and Toutmouillé. Evidently this did not apply to the voices or the saints.

[3] P. ii. 3, Toutmouillé.

[4] He had been in Rouen throughout the trial.

pected to die, but she had a sanguine temper and had not quite given up the hope of deliverance. At first the girl could not contain herself, and broke down before the four priests. It was cruel, she told them, and she had rather be beheaded seven times over than burnt. Had she been guarded by churchmen, and not by her enemies, this would not have happened, and she appealed to God, the great judge, against the wrong that had been done her.[1] In her distress Maurice thought that another appeal might move her, and he pointed out that her voices must be those of lying spirits, since, in promising her deliverance, they had deceived her. This horrible thought had been present to her mind for days; she could not be sure that Maurice was wrong, and he persuaded her to say that she had been deceived.[2] Probably she meant to admit only that she had misunderstood her voices, but the churchmen took her to mean that the voices had betrayed her. In her agony she hardly knew what she was saying or what she dared to believe; she was too simple and devout a Catholic utterly to disregard the learned priests about her, as she might have done if she had been a stubborn heretic. "Master Peter," she asked Maurice, "where shall I be to-night?" "Do you not have good hope in God?" said the well meaning canon. With returning confidence, Joan answered that she had good hope, and that, with God's help, she would be in paradise.[3]

Cauchon himself came to the prison with several attending assessors. Joan knew that he, at any rate, was her enemy, and she spoke to him boldly. "Bishop, I die by your act." This the crafty bishop did not intend to acknowledge. "Ah, be patient, Joan," he said. "You die because you have not done what you promised, and be-

[1] P. ii. 3, Toutmouillé.

[2] P. i. 478, Ladvenu.

[3] P. iii. 191, Riquier. Maurice is reported to have been sorry at Joan's relapse. P. iii. 164, Boisguillaume.

cause you have returned to your old sin." "If you had put me into the prisons of the church, and had left me in the hands of proper churchly keepers," said the poor girl, "this would not have happened; therefore I appeal against you to God."[1]

Cauchon saw her agony, and, dissatisfied with the efforts of Maurice, himself attempted to bring her to submission. "Listen, Joan," he began; "you always told us that your voices promised you that you should be delivered; you see how they have deserted you. Now tell us the truth." Again Joan was forced to admit that she had been deceived. Cauchon triumphantly declared that she must understand that voices like hers could not be those of good spirits, nor could they come from God; if they had come from Him, they could neither deceive her nor lie. To this Joan made no answer, and they could get nothing more out of her, except rather vague professions of devotion to the church and of willingness to submit to it.[2]

[1] P. ii. 3, Toutmouillé.

[2] P. i. 481, Toutmouillé; 483, Courcelles. The testimony of the seven witnesses examined on June 7 should be studied carefully, and, when so studied, does not offer very many serious difficulties. That of Loiseleur is plainly untruthful, dictated solely by a desire to make out Cauchon's case, and to show that, at the moment of her death, Joan gave the lie to her whole past life. His statements that she asked him to remind her to confess her sins to the people, and that she begged pardon of the English and Burgundians, are absurd. The anxiety of Le Camus to please Cauchon evidently led him into considerable exaggeration, if not into downright falsehood. All those present, however, testified that Joan admitted that she had been deceived. Doubtless it was Cauchon's intention that they should say this, but they would hardly have done so unless Joan had admitted, at the least, that she had been mistaken.

Venderès, Ladvenu, Loiseleur, Maurice, and Courcelles make Joan say that she had been deceived, almost in the same words. Toutmouillé and Le Camus make her say that the voices had deceived her, — a phrase which she is less likely to have used. Such a phrase, however, may have escaped her in her terrible distress. It is to be observed that Toutmouillé makes her say it in reply to a question by

Cauchon went away with most of his assessors to prepare for the execution. Ladvenu stayed behind, having been directed to give Joan all needful ghostly advice.

She had now no hope of escape, and she gave herself at

Cauchon. Courcelles, the witness who stood least in awe of Cauchon, testifying after Toutmouillé, and probably after having heard him, seems to correct his testimony by saying that, according to his own recollection, Joan said, "I see that I have been deceived." Le Camus testified that, at the time Ladvenu was administering the Eucharist, Joan confessed that her voices had deceived her, and that she would put faith in them no longer. Ladvenu, without mentioning the occasion, makes her say something to the same effect, but less specific. At the rehabilitation, however, he testified that Joan always maintained that her voices came from God. So, also, Manchon, P. iii. 150. It is pretty clear that both Le Camus and Ladvenu stretched their recollections severely. Perhaps Ladvenu told Joan that her voices were not worthy of belief, and she did not contradict him. See P. i. 483, Le Camus.

Le Camus makes Joan admit in the presence of the bishop that her voices were evil. Courcelles says that Cauchon told her that they were evil, but gives no reply. Ladvenu, Maurice, and Toutmouillé make her leave the matter more or less vaguely to the church or to the churchmen, while Maurice quotes her words, "Be they good spirits or bad, they did appear to me."

According to Ladvenu, Maurice, and Toutmouillé, she said something about the vision being in the similitude of a great number of very small things. As they did not understand her meaning, apparently, it is difficult for us to do so.

Joan doubtless said something which could be taken as a recognition of the authority of the church, for Ladvenu so testified, even at the rehabilitation. See P. ii. 365 ; iii. 167. Her language about this matter was probably pretty vague, like that she so often used at her trial. It is to be noted that the questions asked of the witnesses at the second trial were intended to elicit an answer that Joan had submitted to the church. See ii. 293, articles ix., xi. ; ii. 311, articles xiv., xvii., xxiii.

Taking all the testimony together, two things appear plainly : Joan's great distress, and the desire of the witnesses to tell a story agreeable to Cauchon. It should be observed that Courcelles, the most reserved of the witnesses of June 7 in testifying against Joan, was at the rehabilitation almost the most reserved in testifying in her favor. This makes his testimony doubly valuable. I see no

once to devout preparation for death, confessing her sins to Ladvenu, and meekly receiving from him the sacrament of penance.[1] She begged earnestly for the Eucharist, and Ladvenu sent the sergeant Massieu to Cauchon, asking for instructions. Cauchon gave his permission readily; for the reasons already mentioned, he had always intended to do so.[2] The host was brought in state with litany and candles through the castle yard, so that all by-standers might know how Joan had again recanted her errors and acknowledged her sins.[3] By the time the cell was reached, however, all need of pomp had ceased, for want of spectators, and the host was delivered to Ladvenu in a manner so slovenly, without candle, surplice, or stole, that the outraged priest would not administer the sacrament until decent furnishing was provided.[4] Joan had already put on woman's dress; months before, she had asked her judges that it might be given her when she came to be executed.[5] In it she received the Eucharist for the first time at Rouen.

She had been cited to appear before the court at eight o'clock, and she was arrayed for the procession through the streets. They put upon her a long black robe, such as those condemned by the Inquisition used to wear, and on her head a mitre with these words written, "Heretic, relapsed, apostate, idolater."[6] Guarded by several score of English soldiers, accompanied by the sergeant and by Ladvenu, she was led from the castle to the Old Market, a

reason to suppose that the testimony taken June 7 was altered in the recording. Manchon's objection to attesting it was its irregularity, not its incorrectness.

[1] P. i. 482, Le Camus; ii. 308, Ladvenu.

[2] P. iii. 158, Massieu. See iii. 149.

[3] P. iii. 114, Lenozoles.

[4] P. ii. 19, 334, Massieu.

[5] P. i. 176. See P. iii. 159; ii. 334.

[6] P. iv. 459, Fauquemberque. See iv. 480, note 3.

few hundred yards distant, in the heart of Rouen.[1] There had been erected three platforms or scaffolds, one for the court, one for the distinguished spectators, and one on which was set up the stake.[2] The market-place was filled with a great crowd, English soldiers, townspeople, and peasants who had flocked in from the country to see the show. Apparently the execution had been advertised at least a day beforehand.[3]

About nine o'clock Joan reached the Old Market, and was brought upon the platform near the Church of St. Saviour. According to custom, there was a sermon, preached by Nicholas Midi, a member of the University of Paris and a canon of Rouen. His text was from Corinthians, "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."[4] Joan sat quiet throughout the discourse, while the crowd had its fill of gazing at the famous witch. When Midi had finished, Cauchon for the last time warned Joan to look well to the safety of her soul, and advised her to heed especially the counsel of the two Dominican friars, Ladvenu and Isambard of La Pierre, appointed to stay by her till her death. He then read the final sentence. This set forth that it was fitting to separate heretics from the company of the righteous, lest the deadly poison which transformed the heretic into a limb of Satan should spread through the other members of the mystic body of Christ. Joan had previously been found guilty of the sin of schism, idolatry, and witchcraft, so the sentence declared, and, as now clearly appeared, she had never truly repented of these sins, but had returned to her evil ways, like a dog to his vomit. There-

[1] P. ii. 14, Manchon ; 19, Massieu ; iii. 173, Houppeville ; Beaurepaire, *Mémoire sur le lien du supplice de J.;* Wallon, éd. illust., 349.

[2] P. iii. 55, Bp. of Noyon.

[3] P. iv. 354, Basin.

[4] P. i. 470 ; ii. 14, Manchon ; 19, Massieu ; Beaurepaire, *Notes sur les juges*, 38.

fore the judges declared her excommunicated and cut off from the unity of the church, like a rotten member, and they delivered her over to the power of the state.[1]

The sermon and the rest of the ceremony had taken a considerable time, and some of the English soldiers became impatient.[2] The power of the state, represented by the bailiff of Rouen,[3] should have passed sentence of death, but in the confusion this formality was omitted, or was passed over so hastily that those who stood close by heard nothing of it.[4] Joan was brought down from the judge's platform, delivered at once to the executioner, and taken to the scaffold. As she went, she begged the priests to say masses for her soul, and again she declared that for what she had done, good or bad, she alone would answer, and that her king was not to blame. With her old confidence, she cried, "Ah, Rouen, I greatly fear that you will have to suffer for my death." [5]

Before the scaffold a sign was placed on which was written for the instruction of the multitude, "Joan, who has taken the name of the Maid, liar, wrong-doer, deceiver of the people, witch, superstitious, blasphemer of God, presumptuous, unbeliever, braggart, idolater, cruel, lewd, sorceress, apostate, schismatic, and heretic."[6] The scaffold itself, on which the wood was piled, had been made high, so that all the crowd might see the burn-

[1] P. i. 470 et seq. The sentence prepared for May 24 was used, with a new preamble. See i. 473.

[2] P. ii. 20, Massieu.

[3] Ralph Butler. See Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 22.

[4] See P. ii. 6, 8, 20, 324, 351, 359, 363, 375; iii. 165, 169, 186, 188, 190, 194, 202. This omission was much insisted upon at the time of the second trial. If an error was made, it was wholly technical, of course, for the bailiff was willing to pronounce any sentence required.

[5] P. ii. 369, Fabre; iii. 53, De la Chambre; 55, Bp. of Noyon; 165, Boisguillaume; 202, Daron.

[6] P. iv. 459.

ing.[1] As Joan was about to mount it with her confessor, she asked for a cross. An English soldier gave her one made on the spot from two sticks fastened together; she kissed it devoutly and, praying all the time, thrust it into her bosom under her dress. From the church of St. Saviour opposite they brought her the crucifix, and this, too, she kissed and embraced while they bound her to the stake.[2]

After the fastenings had been secured, the executioner set the fagots afire. The scaffold was so high that he was hindered in his work, and the wood did not burn as quickly as he had expected. When Joan saw the flame, she told La Pierre[3] to descend with the crucifix, and she begged him, when he had done so, to hold it up for her to look on as long as she could see. She had not lost her faith in her voices, or else it came back to her in the fire, for those standing near by heard her speak the name of St. Michael, who had appeared to her in her first vision in Domremy. At the last, through the flames, they heard her call again and again with a loud voice, "Jesus, Jesus."[4]

[1] P. ii. 9, Ladvenu.

[2] P. ii. 20, Massieu.

[3] P. i. It is somewhat uncertain whether La Pierre or Ladvenu held the crucifix. Both were with her on the scaffold. See P. ii. 6, 20, 303; iii. 169. I think it was the former.

[4] P. ii. 6, 303, 352, La Pierre; 9, Ladvenu; ii. 19, iii. 159, Massieu; ii. 321, Taquel; 344, Manchon; ii. 347, iii. 182, Cusquel; ii. 377, Fave; iii. 53, De la Chambre; 56, Bp. of Noyon; 90, Marcel; 129, Miget; 177, Fabre; 179, Caval; 186, Le Parmentier; 188, Guesdon; 194, Moreau; 202, Daron. For the name of St. Michael, see ii. 324, Bouchier; iii. 53, De la Chambre; 159, Massieu. It is said that Joan's ashes were thrown into the Seine. P. iii. 160.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REHABILITATION.

May–June, 1431.

THE life of Joan was complete at her death, and her story loses something of its symmetry by including an account of her second trial. As that trial, however, and the events that led up to it really help to explain her life and character, their history should be added.

In Normandy the *auto-da-fé* was never a popular sport, as it was for centuries in Spain. Some of those who heard Midi's sermon would not stay in the market-place after the fire was lighted.[1] Those who remained were strangely moved. The sight of Joan's death made not a few priests believe her to be a martyr. Alépée, a canon of Rouen, who had shown her no special favor, was heard to say, as she burned before his eyes, "Would that my soul were in the same place as the soul of that woman."[2] With the pay which he had received for his services at the trial, the notary Manchon bought a missal in memory of Joan, so that he might pray for her.[3] A secretary of Henry VI., so it was said, going home after the execution, declared that Joan had died a good Christian, and that her soul was in the hand of God. The chancellor, Louis, bishop of Thérouanne, John of Luxemburg's brother, was reported to have shed tears; men

[1] P. ii. 363, Miget; iii. 56, Bp. of Noyon; 62, Courcelles. See Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 70. Some, probably most, of the heretics mentioned by him were not burnt.

[2] P. iii. 191, Riquier. See, also, iii. 169, Ladvenu.

[3] P. ii. 15; iii. 150, Manchon.

said that even Cauchon had wept.[1] That very afternoon, about four o'clock, the executioner went to the Dominican monastery and sought out Ladvenu and La Pierre, fearing God's wrath for what he had done. In his distress he bewailed that he had not been able to do his work properly, and that Joan had suffered a crueller death than others whom he had burned; and he told the already excited monks that he had not been able to consume her heart, though he had freely used both sulphur and charcoal.[2] Other stories about the execution, some true, some exaggerated, some quite legendary, began to fill men's minds with wonder and awe. An English soldier, so one of these stories ran, had conceived such hatred of Joan that he swore with his own hands to throw a fagot into the fire. He did so, and at the moment of her death heard her call on Jesus and saw a white dove in the midst of the flames; thereupon he had staggered into a tavern proclaiming that Joan was a holy woman.[3] The impression thus made by Joan's death was lasting. It was currently reported in Rouen that all who had been guilty of it died wretchedly, — Midi, a leper; Estivet, in a brothel. The fact that this report was not altogether true does not make it less noteworthy. Throughout the loyal provinces, also, Joan's name was a household word, kept constantly in remembrance by the tales of those who had served with her in arms, and by the yearly celebration of the deliverance of Orleans.

Meantime, though the war dragged on, the situation of France and England was changed. Two years after Joan's death, in June, 1433, as La Trémoille slept at Chinon, some partisans of the constable 1433.

[1] P. ii. 307, 320, 347, 352; iii. 129, 177, 182.

[2] P. ii. 7, 352, La Pierre; 9, Ladvenu. His name seems to have been Geoffrey Therage. See Beaurepaire, *Recherches*, 38.

[3] P. ii. 352, La Pierre. It may occur to the reader that the soldier was possibly drunk. This may have been the case, or the whole

Richemont and of the king's young brother-in-law, Charles of Maine, entered the castle by stealth, burst into the favorite's chamber and dragged him from his bed, wounding him severely in the struggle. When the king first heard the noise he was considerably frightened, but the queen speedily coaxed him into good humor. If the grim constable himself had been there, probably he would have served La Trémoille as he had served his predecessors Le Camus and Giac.[1] Unfortunately, milder counsels prevailed. La Trémoille was put to ransom, and lived for some years to plot against the government, though he never regained the king's favor. He died in 1446.[2]

1435–1444. The party which succeeded to the control of the king sincerely wished for peace with Burgundy and was ready to give almost anything to secure it. Philip was not unwilling. He had become tired of the English alliance, and his sister, Bedford's wife, who had labored hard to unite the two dukes, was now dead.[3] At Arras, in 1435, the treaty was settled, — in some of its conditions a hard one for Charles, but effectually securing to him the French crown.[4] By renouncing the crown at once, Henry VI. might have kept several French provinces, but Bedford died just a week before the treaty of Arras was signed, and in him the boy king lost his only able and faithful adviser.[5] After Bedford's death the English government fell into a disorder like that of Charles VII.'s administration in the first years of his reign. As the French soldiers learned discipline, as French financial management improved, and French administration

story may have been apocryphal. Its importance comes altogether from the credit it gained.

[1] See p. 11, ante.

[2] Beaucourt, ii. 297 ; Cagny, 96, v. ; Godefroy, *Hist. Charles VII.*, 386 ; *Les la Trémoille*, xxii.

[3] Beaucourt, ii. 455.

[4] Beaucourt, ii. 505 et seq. ; Vallet de V., ii. 315.

[5] Beaucourt, ii. 53 ; Stevenson, *Letters of Henry VI.*, lxx.

became more honest and efficient, the English soldiers turned brigands, English taxation became more oppressive, and English administration inefficient and corrupt. In 1435 St. Denis was taken, in 1436 Paris went over to Charles,[1] and only the turbulence of the French nobility[2] and the real affection for English rule felt by the men of Bordeaux put off Charles's final triumph for twenty years. In 1444 the English were forced to sign a truce; this enabled the husbandmen to cultivate what once had been fertile fields, but which in many parts of France were become literally a tangled wilderness.[3]

During the first years that followed Joan's death, it is not easy to trace precisely the fortunes of her family. Her father soon died. At some time her brother John was made provost of Vaucouleurs. Her brother Peter, who had been taken prisoner with her at Compiègne, found it hard to raise the money needed for his ransom. He was released on parole, however, and married a girl from Domremy, whose dowry was spent in getting her husband's release. James, or Jacquemin, who had not followed his sister to the war, continued to live in Domremy, and there for some years lived Joan's mother, Isabel.[4]

In May, 1436, five years after Joan's execution, there appeared in the neighborhood of Metz, about fifty miles from Domremy, a young woman who gave herself out to be Joan. Her story stirred the curiosity of the people of Metz; many went out to see her and gave her presents, including a horse which she managed cleverly. Joan's brothers, John and Peter, soon arrived, and publicly recognized the impostor as their sister. It is not easy to explain their conduct. The age

1436.

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 53; iii. 7.

[2] As shown by the affair of the Praguerie, for example.

[3] Beaucourt, iii. 266 et seq.; Basin, i. 161.

[4] P. ii. 74, n.; v. 212; B. de Molandon, *Fam. de J.*, 2e tableau, and p. 12.

was credulous, and the brothers were not remarkably intelligent; when the story of their sister's return was first told them, they may not have realized its absurdity, but may honestly have expected to find her. At the first sight, their recognition may have been honest, but they could not have been long deceived. Perhaps they were ashamed to confess their blunder, and it seems probable that they expected to gain by it. To Joan of Arc alive, the king and the city of Orleans owed an immense debt of gratitude, in the payment of which her brothers might well hope to share.

Whatever was the motive of their conduct, they stayed with the woman in the neighborhood of Metz for some time. She did not want cleverness; she evaded inconvenient questions by oracular speech, and, though she promised to accomplish great things, she announced that power was not to be given her until midsummer. She sent letters to Charles VII. and to Orleans, and finally dispatched John to the king, probably in quest of money. Charles would promise money only for John's journey, and did not pay even that; whereupon the young man appealed to the city of Orleans, and was given twelve pounds. The pursuivants of the city made several journeys to Metz, carrying letters back and forth, but Orleans continued to celebrate a requiem mass on the anniversary of Joan's death.[1]

The adventuress, whose real name seems to have been Claude, was restless. Before John's return from Orleans she entered the duchy of Luxemburg, and was well received by the duchess. Cutting loose from her pretended relatives or deserted by them, she captivated Ulrich, count of Würtemberg, and went with him to Cologne, probably as his mistress. Her wild blood made her fancy to play at soldiering; Ulrich gave her a fine suit of armor, and she announced that she would enthrone one of the rival

[1] See P. v. 326, 274; Lecoy, *Le roi René*, i. 314.

claimants of the archbishopric of Treves. She danced and drank with the men at arms, and declared that she had the miraculous power of making whole, in a moment, torn clothes and broken bottles. Her antics aroused the Inquisition, but by the help of Count Ulrich she got away from Cologne, though she did not escape excommunication. Before long she was again in Luxemburg, where the count seems to have left her, and where, before the end of 1436, she married a knight, Robert of Armoises. With him she went to live in his town house at Metz.[1]

Claude could not long abide in a life of sober respectability. Two or three years after her marriage she left her husband and wandered to Orleans, where she was received with hesitating respect. The city did not disavow her; on the contrary, the council sent her presents of meat and wine, and even gave her two hundred and ten pounds "for the good she had done the town during the siege." It is tolerably clear, however, that her story got no enthusiastic acceptance.[2] 1439–1440.

During the summer of 1439 she moved uneasily up and down the Loire, trying to make good her claims. The king and his council would not acknowledge her, though, according to one story, she gained admission to Charles's presence.[3] Finding herself discredited, she again took to arms, and in the company of a few soldiers carried on a marauding warfare in the province of Maine.[4] The next year, with a band of freebooters whose professed object was the relief of Harfleur, she approached Paris, creating some excitement by her pretensions. At length the authorities decided to put an end to the strange delusion. By order of the Parliament and of the University of Paris Claude was seized, brought to the city, and exhibited on

[1] P. v. 323 et seq.; Calmet, *Hist. Lorraine*, v. 189, lxxi.
[2] P. v. 331.
[3] P. iv. 281, Sala.
[4] P. v. 332.

the stone near the court-house where cheats were exposed. Her true story was rehearsed to the people by the crier, with embellishments which may well have been apocryphal.[1] After this exposure she was let go her way, in utter contempt, and was almost instantly forgotten. Those whom she had deluded and those who had pretended to believe in her had no wish to perpetuate her memory. Nearly twenty years later René of Anjou pardoned her out of the prison into which some obscure quarrel had cast her.[2]

1444–1450.

The truce made in 1444 lasted five years. In 1449 the English government was weak, on the verge of civil war at home, unable to control its mercenary captains, and too proud to give up the English possessions in northern France for the sake of keeping the country about Bordeaux, which had been held for two centuries and a half and whose people really desired English rule. The French were strong, united, well organized, refreshed

[1] Beaucourt, iii. 20 ; *Journ Bourg.*, ann. 1440.

[2] See Lecoy, *Le roi René*, i. 308, 324. M. Boucher de Molandon (*Famille de J.*, 127 et seq.) supposes this to be another woman, who imposed upon some of Joan's more distant relatives even after the proceedings for rehabilitation had been begun. For an imitation of Joan, see Vallet de V., *Charles VII.*, ii. 456 ; Bourdigné, *Chron. d'Anjou*, ii. 212 ; Jean de Troyes, ann. 1460. The false Joans left no trace on the records of the second trial. I had long supposed that the most preposterous credulity in the world was that of a French "freethinker." One of these, M. Lesigne, in his *La Fin d'une Légende*, published in 1889, maintains that the English saved Joan alive for fear of reprisals. A later and perfectly orthodox person has fairly outdone him by writing a sizable book to show that Joan and Claude were sisters, who saved France and tried to save England from the Templars or freemasons, of whom Winchester was grand master. Unfortunately, Claude was flighty, and fell under the influence of a lodge of female freemasons, whereby her morals were seriously corrupted. *Les Dessous de l'Histoire*, by Francis André. Of course, it may be said that M. Lesigne is merely incredibly credulous, while M. André is positively insane. Really there is not much difference. For a review of the question, see Lefèvre Pontalis, *La fausse Jeanne d'Arc.*

for the battle. The English gave the provocation which the French desired. War broke out, and Normandy was lost to the English as fast as the French troops could march through it. In October, 1449, Charles entered Rouen, and by 1450 he had conquered all northern France except Calais.

In February, 1450, while he was still near Rouen, Charles issued a commission to William Bouillé, a doctor in theology, to make inquiry concerning the trial of Joan.[1] Her condemnation as a witch had been intended to injure Charles in the opinion of all Europe, and to some extent the intention had been accomplished. Now that he had the official record of the trial in his hands, and many of the men who had taken part in it under his control, Charles meant to reverse the judgment which had declared him to have gained his throne by the help of sorcery.[2] Some regard for Joan's reputation may well have joined these political motives. 1450.

Without delay Bouillé took at Rouen the depositions of the Dominicans La Pierre and Ladvenu, of the notary Manchon and of several others who had seen Joan just before her death.[3] He had no jurisdiction, however, except that of a commissioner to take evidence, and his labors lasted but a few days. Afterwards he prepared a memoir or opinion favorable to Joan, for the use of the judges in her new trial when that new trial should be granted by the pope.[4]

For some time nothing more could be done. Joan had been tried before an ecclesiastical court, and without the pope's orders its proceedings could not be reviewed. Her condemnation had been a political act, offensive to the French, and to reverse her sentence would be a political

[1] P. ii. 1 ; Beaucourt, v. 360, n.
[2] See P. vi. 325, opinion of Bouillé.
[3] P. ii. 2 et seq.
[4] P. vi. 323.

act offensive to England. The pope, Nicholas V., did not wish to offend the English, and his relations with Charles were not altogether pleasant.

About two years later, the French cardinal Estouteville, then the papal legate, together with the inquisitor Bréhal, issued another commission to take evidence, and under its authority more than twenty witnesses were examined at Rouen.[1] The object of Estouteville's mission to Charles was to secure for the pope an increase of authority over the French clergy, and the legate may have been willing to humor the king in the matter of Joan, especially as the perpetuation of the testimony of a few witnesses in no way committed the pope. Estouteville's negotiations with Charles were not altogether successful, and no further legal steps in Joan's case were taken for about three years more.[2]

1452.

The pride of France was too deeply engaged to let the matter drop. The French inquisitor, Bréhal, was altogether under the influence of the court; and perhaps because he was bidden, perhaps, also, because he was really convinced of Joan's innocence, he submitted the minutes of the first trial, together with the evidence taken in 1450 and 1452, to distinguished experts in matters ecclesiastical. Like experts who are nowadays engaged by a party to a suit, these men knew what opinion was expected of them, and they made a report favorable to Joan, doubtless with reasonable sincerity. Elaborate written opinions were thus rendered, some by well-known French churchmen, others by officials of the Roman court, and these were used, apparently, to influence the pope and his councilors.[3]

With Nicholas V. neither the opinion of experts nor the personal appeals of Bréhal, made in more than one visit to

[1] P. ii. 291 et seq. See Belon and Balme, *Jean Bréhal.*

[2] Beaucourt, v. 363.

[3] See Belon and Balme, *Jean Bréhal,* 46, and the text of the opinions in P. vi.

Rome, were of any avail. Early in 1455 Nicholas died and was succeeded by a Spaniard, the first of the Borgias, Calixtus III. The new pope was ready 1455. to act, but before his bull was issued those in charge of the case thought best to change the form of the petition for a new trial. For five years it had been urged in the name of Charles, but in order to make the proceedings less offensive to the English, or for some other reason, a new petition was brought in the name of Joan's mother, Isabel, and of her two brothers, Peter and John.[1] Begun in this way, the new trial would seem more like an act of private justice, less like political revenge. The bull of Pope Calixtus, issued June 11, 1455, directed John Juvénal des Ursins, archbishop of Rheims, William Chartier, bishop of Paris, and Richard Olivier, bishop of Coutances, with a representative of the Inquisition, to reopen Joan's case, and to make therein a just decision which they should cause to be observed.[2] All the judges were strong supporters of Charles and of the French monarchy, and it is doing them no injustice to say that their decision was predetermined like that of Cauchon.

On November 7 of the same year, the court held its first sitting in the cathedral of Paris. Isabel appeared with her sons, some of her other kinsfolk, and some of the men of Orleans, in which city she had been living for fifteen years. Helped by the learned counsel who advised her, she told the story of her daughter's wrongs, weeping bitterly amidst the shouts and cries of the excited multitude. So great was the tumult that the judges and parties at length withdrew into the sacristy. There, doubtless for the sake of keeping an appearance of impartiality in the official report of their proceedings, the judges told Isabel that it was not easy to grant what she asked, inasmuch as

[1] P. ii. 95; Beaucourt, v. 368; Belon and Balme, 66.

[2] P. ii. 95. The choice of a representative of the Inquisition was left to the bishops. Bréhal was chosen, as a matter of course.

there was grave presumption of her daughter's guilt. They promised, however, to examine the matter carefully.[1]

Ten days later, the court held another public session in the cathedral. In the presence of an enormous crowd, one of Isabel's counsel opened the case with a panegyric on Joan and a fierce attack upon Cauchon and his colleagues. In Orleans, in Rheims, even in Rouen, no panegyric would have been needed, but the men of Paris had never seen Joan. They remembered only the terror of the day when she attacked the gate of St. Honoré, and the more recent pillorying of her wretched counterfeit. Doubtless these public sessions were intended to influence their opinion.[2]

To tell in detail the story of Joan's second trial would be needlessly wearisome. Many witnesses were examined at Domremy [3] and Vaucouleurs,[4] in Orleans [5] and Rouen.[6] Among them were notable men: princes of the blood, such as Alençon, — Joan's "fair duke," — and the Bastard of Orleans, now count of Dunois; old soldiers like Gaucourt and Thibaud of Armagnac; royal councilors like Simon Charles; there were substantial burghers and burghers' wives from Orleans, among them Charlotte Boucher, now a mother,[7] who as a child shared Joan's bed. At Domremy there testified the neighbors of Joan's childhood and the girls of her own age; at Vaucouleurs her uncle Laxart, Catherine le Royer, with whom she spent her weeks of waiting, and her first companions in

[1] P. ii. 87 et seq.; iii. 368.

[2] P. ii. 92 et seq.

[3] P. ii. 387 et seq.

[4] P. ii. 435 et seq.

[5] P. iii. 1 et seq.

[6] P. iii. 128 et seq. Some depositions, also, were taken at Paris and elsewhere.

[7] B. de Molandon, *Jacques Boucher*, in *Mém. soc. arch. hist. Orléanais*, t. xxii. 428.

arms, John of Metz and Bertrand of Poulengy. Aulon her squire, Coutes her page, Pasquerel her confessor, told what they had heard and seen. In Rouen were examined the notaries who took down her words, the sergeant who served her with process, the physicians who attended her, the common people who went to see her in her dungeon out of curiosity. Courcelles testified, who had voted to put her to the torture, and so did the wretch who would have stretched her on the rack. Considerably more than one hundred depositions were taken at this time, in addition to those which had been taken under the commissions of Bouillé and Estouteville.

As was to be expected under the circumstances, the testimony was favorable to Joan. It seems to have been given willingly. Two or three of those who took part in the first trial refused, without evil consequence, to condemn its proceedings or to take part in Joan's eulogy.[1] The witnesses were all asked the same questions, and therefore their answers were sometimes mechanical and stereotyped. Very many of these answers, however, were made with much fullness and freedom, and even in the abridged report often illustrate the character of the witnesses as well as give information about Joan. The substance of the depositions is to be found in the preceding chapters, but there are one or two peculiarities of the testimony which should be noticed here.

In this mass of nearly one hundred and fifty depositions, including those taken by Bouillé and Estouteville, the apparent freshness of the witnesses' recollections is

[1] See P. iii. 183. Marguerie admitted that the English were actuated by hatred, but asserted that some notable men acted from proper motives. Probably he was thinking of himself. He also denied that Joan submitted to the church, though her friends wished to prove such a submission. Undoubtedly most of the assessors who testified at the rehabilitation represented themselves as having favored Joan at the first trial more than they actually had done.

noteworthy, and especially the tenacity with which phrases used by Joan stuck in the memory. The record of the testimony was made in Latin,[1] but these phrases were often left in their original French.[2] Seldom do they have any trace of the personality of the witness, almost always they are full of the personality of Joan, as exhibited in the language taken down from her own lips and found in the minutes of her trial. Even when the witnesses' recollection of her words is translated into Latin, her quaint terseness can often be recognized.

Most of the deponents, in closing their testimony, formally declared that they believed Joan had been a pious Catholic and a good girl. To this formal declaration some added an opinion plainly individual. The rude soldier Macy, who had practiced his horse-play on her at Beaurevoir, ended his testimony with the words, "I believe she is in paradise."[3] "I do not doubt that she died a Catholic," said her confessor Ladvenu; "indeed, I wish my soul were now where I believe Joan's soul to be."[4] "In my opinion she was a very good Christian," said her squire Aulon; "and she must have been inspired, for she loved all that a good Christian ought to love, and especially she loved well any right valiant fellow whom she knew to be of chaste life."[5] "I believe that she was led by the spirit of God, and that there was in her a virtue divine, not human," said a lawyer who had seen her at Orleans.[6] "It was a great consolation to converse with her," said Beauharnais, a burgher of the city.[7]

The rest of 1455 and the first six months of 1456 were spent in taking testimony, in framing articles, in citing

[1] Except that of Aulon, and those taken by Bouillé.
[2] See P. iii. 12, 48, 53, 68, 96, 97, 98, 126, 155, 168, 202.
[3] P. iii. 123.
[4] P. iii. 169.
[5] P. iii. 219.
[6] P. iii. 128, Viole.
[7] P. iii. 31.

the heirs of Cauchon to appear before the tribunal, and in making and hearing lengthy arguments. On July 7, at about eight o'clock in the morning, in 1456. the great hall of the archbishop's palace at Rouen, the judges pronounced sentence, as follows: "We declare and, in accordance with the requirements of justice, we decree that the articles set forth in the case submitted to us and in the sentence pronounced against the said deceased, were corruptly, deceitfully, calumniously, fraudulently, and maliciously put together from the confession of the said deceased, by suppressing truth and expressing falsehood in matters of substance material to the determination of the case. Many aggravating circumstances not contained in the proceedings and in the confession were improperly inserted, while some alleviating circumstances therein were passed over, and the language thereof was substantially altered. Wherefore we avoid and annul the said articles as false, as calumniously and fraudulently prepared, and as inconsistent with the confession of the accused, and we adjudge that the said articles, which we have caused to be taken from the files, be here formally destroyed.

"We decide, pronounce, decree, and declare that the said proceedings and sentence, containing fraud, calumny, injustice, inconsistency, and manifest error in law and fact, together with the said abjuration, execution, and all matters thereafter following, have been, are, and shall be null, invalid, and void. Wherefore, as is reasonable and needful, we avoid and annul the same, and pronounce them to be of none effect, declaring that the said Joan, together with her kinsfolk and all plaintiffs in this suit, has received no mark or stain of infamy by reason of the foregoing, but is and shall be harmless and cleared from the foregoing, and so far as is needful we hereby absolutely clear her.

"We order that execution or solemn notification of this

our sentence shall be made forthwith in this city, in two places; to wit, to-day in the place of St. Ouen, by a public procession and a public sermon, and to-morrow in the Old Market, the place in which the said Joan was cruelly and horribly burned to death, by a solemn discourse, and by the erection of a decent cross to keep her in everlasting remembrance, and to provoke prayers for her salvation and that of other departed souls. The further execution and notification of our said sentence, with the solemn proclamation thereof in the cities and principal places of the realm, and other things to be done, if any there be, we reserve for our disposal hereafter as may seem to us fitting."

A fortnight later, upon further order of the court, there was a procession at Orleans also, attended by two of the judges. As has been said already, the people of Orleans had waited for no judicial decree to celebrate every year the deliverance of their city by Joan the Maid.

APPENDIX.

A. THE CHARACTER OF CHARLES VII.

The character of Charles VII. has proved a puzzle to most historians. A prediction, made at almost any time in the first twelve years of his reign, that he would die deservedly surnamed the Victorious, would have seemed quite as absurd as a like prediction made in 1895 concerning the Chinese emperor. The disposition to attribute to the character of a mediæval monarch the success or failure which attended his reign is so strong that all sorts of theories have been formed to account for the change in Charles's fortunes. The theory accepted for centuries gave the credit of the change to Agnes Sorel, who was supposed to have roused the energies of an indolent but able king. Recent investigation has shown, however, that this Sorel legend is pure fiction, that Agnes did not become the king's mistress until he was about forty years old and had reigned twenty years, that the letters attributed to her are modern forgeries, that she had no political influence whatever, and differed from the other royal mistresses only in possessing rather uncommon beauty. If Agnes Sorel's meeting with Charles be too late to account for his regeneration, Joan's appearance is too early, since Charles was undoubtedly sunk in torpor for several years after Joan's capture.

The latest historian of Charles VII., the Marquis de Beaucourt, who has finally disposed of the Sorel legend, has developed a theory of Charles's character which differs somewhat from any before suggested. According to him, Charles was a man of exceptional ability and excellent intentions, who showed much vigor as a boy of eighteen, later yielded himself to the influence of bad favorites, whose control he threw off from time to time, until at the age of thirty-two or thereabouts he asserted him-

self as a great ruler, and continued to direct the affairs of France for more than twenty years, when illness and a weak constitution made an indolent invalid of him for a few years before his death.

M. de Beaucourt is a historian always to be mentioned with high respect. His learning is very great, his industry untiring, and, though the plan of his work is at times a little confusing, his style is always clear and readable. More valuable than any of these qualities is his absolute candor in stating the facts he has discovered. However much any one of these may conflict with his theories, M. de Beaucourt always gives it in full, before trying to explain it away. His theories are those of a strong supporter of the monarchy and of the Roman Catholic church, and they color deeply his opinions of the men and events of the fifteenth century. Had Charles VII. been only a duke, it is clear that he would have received very different treatment at M. de Beaucourt's hands. The divinity that hedges a king, and especially a king of France, has so affected the historian's judgment that he is always finding excuses for his hero. Two examples of his partiality will suffice.

Charles VII. was an unfaithful husband. It was not his infidelity that made him a bad ruler; indeed, as has just been observed, a popular legend has long given to one of his lapses the credit of having aroused him from a life of unkingly sloth to a sense of his royal duties. M. de Beaucourt is so desirous of saving as much as possible of Charles's reputation that he tries to show that his early married life was exemplary, and that his excesses were confined to his later years.[1] To establish this, he proves conclusively that Charles issued edicts against profane swearing and was observant of the rites of the church; that he heard three masses a day, recited the canonical hours and the office for the dead, confessed himself daily, and communicated on all feast days. In common life, M. de Beaucourt knows very well that all this, however praiseworthy, is worthless as evidence of marital fidelity, and in his zeal to eulogize the king he so far forgets logic, that he produces excellent evidence of Charles's continued habits of devotion at a time when his debauchery is admitted.

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 177 et seq.

Again, M. de Beaucourt, like the brave gentleman he is, feels keenly Charles's betrayal of Joan. Many of the excuses he offers for the king he would consider deadly insults if applied to himself in like case; one excuse is of surpassing ingenuity. As evidence that the king "remained constantly faithful to the memory of Joan of Arc," he tells us that in 1441, at the head of his army, he passed through the village of Greux near Domremy, and that a few years afterward he actually slept one night in the place.[1]

The illustrations given show the strength of M. de Beaucourt's prejudices; it would be very unfair to imply that he does not give much stronger reasons for his opinion of Charles's character and abilities. As he is Charles's strongest champion, his arguments deserve careful consideration. M. de Beaucourt quotes a phrase of Lacordaire:[2] "It belongs to those of a given age to judge its affairs and its men," and he cites as evidence of Charles's reputation the compliments paid him by foreign embassies, and the eulogies of him written by the court poet and the court chroniclers. Such evidence, of course, is worthless, but that of two independent historians, Thomas Basin, bishop of Lisieux, and George Chastellain, the Burgundian, deserves fuller consideration. At the first reading, Basin does certainly seem to speak of Charles with great respect, not only in the passage quoted by M. de Beaucourt, but in many other places as well. Closer examination shows the singular reason of his admiration. The principal motive of Basin's history was hatred of Louis XI., and he used praise of the father simply as a foil to abuse of the son. Thus he lays great stress upon Charles's faith in keeping his promises in order that he may emphasize the utter faithlessness of Louis. Whenever, which is seldom, he forgets for a moment his hatred of Louis, his real opinion of Charles appears, as when, for example, he describes him as "drenching his passions in drunkenness and debauchery, stupid in sloth and self-indulgence."[3]

The praise given by Chastellain to Charles VII. is largely of the same sort. Sometimes he, too, wished to express his disapproval of Louis;[4] sometimes his praise was written directly

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 256, 256.
[2] Beaucourt, vi. 445.
[3] Basin, i. 116.
[4] Chastellain, vii. 325, n.

for Charles's consumption.[1] His real opinion of the king probably finds its best expression in "La mort du roy Charles VII."[2] a Mystery in which France thanks Charles for her deliverance, and the king modestly refers the thanks to his lords and captains. Their replies occupy more than three quarters of the poem, and are nearly as modest as the king's. Doubtless Chastellain was affected by the traditional respect which attended a king, but he knew that Charles's success was due to his lieutenants and ministers.

Any real knowledge of the character of Charles VII. must be derived, of course, not from a balancing of the opinions of his contemporaries, but from a study of the events of his life. He was born in 1403, of a father who had been intermittently insane for more than ten years, and of a mother whose character made Charles's doubts concerning his paternity quite reasonable, though they were probably unjust. The court in which he was brought up was violent and corrupt; from this court he was literally carried off in his night-clothes by a bravo, himself violent and corrupt, whose only virtue was his courage. Because Tanneguy du Châtel and others like him transported the Dauphin rapidly from place to place during several years, M. de Beaucourt thinks the boy showed energy and capacity, but there is no evidence of his real intervention in war or in politics, and he is easily acquitted of the guilt of the murder at Montereau, because, though he probably knew the plot, he could not have prevented its execution. At nineteen years of age, in 1422, he became king. From 1422 to 1429 he was under the control of a succession of worthless favorites and made hardly a pretense of ruling. He is said to have borne a personal grudge against Richemont because the constable slaughtered one or two of these favorites almost in the king's own sight. Whether this grudge was real, or merely attributed to Charles by a later favorite, cannot certainly be known, so feeble was Charles's will. Probably it was real. During all this time his crown and the national existence of France were at stake, yet he never took the field, his conduct in this respect being, I believe, without a parallel in the history of his age. How he acted during Joan's attempts to raise his fortunes is set forth

[1] Chastellain, vi. 420 et seq. [2] Chastellain, vi. 437.

in this book. After her capture he remained for about three years longer in the control of La Trémoille, as inactive as he had been before his coronation. In 1433 Charles was thirty years old, an age at which nearly all the princes of his time, Henry IV., Henry V., Louis XI., Philip the Good, Bedford, the Bastard of Orleans, Alençon, had made their mark on the world for good or evil. Charles VII., like Charles VI. and Henry VI., had of himself accomplished nothing.

At this time Charles of Anjou, the king's brother-in-law, seized La Trémoille as the favorite slept at Chinon, and drove him from court. The king slept near by, and at first was disturbed at the noise made by the conspirators, but was soon quieted by the queen, who was probably a party to the plot.[1] The princes and noblemen who thus got the control of his person were distinctly more patriotic than La Trémoille, and France gained by the change; but Charles was as inert under one master as under the other.[2] The treaty of Arras was made by his ministers.[3]

In the year and a half which followed the treaty of Arras, Charles VII. showed himself as little concerned in the affairs of state as he had been during the thirteen years of his reign which preceded it. One minister intrigued against another, but the king was indifferent. Doubtless the government of France was considerably improved, but this was because Yolande and Charles of Anjou, the constable and his supporters, were better rulers than La Trémoille, and were willing to heed the just representations of the bureaucracy and trained civil servants of the crown. In the latter part of 1437, however, Charles not only took the field in person for the first time since the campaign of 1429, but at the storming of Montereau he is said to have shown distinguished personal bravery. How his conduct is to be accounted for, we do not precisely know. The story rests principally upon the testimony of one chronicler, who may have exaggerated Charles's prowess from a desire to please him. Charles was very moody and may have had moments of exaltation as well as months of depression, in any case his conduct at

[1] Beaucourt, ii. 298; Cagny, fol. 96, verso.

[2] Beaucourt, ii. 298.

[3] The duke of Burgundy was present in person.

Montereau had no precedent and at most but one copy; the war went on, Charles stayed at home.[1] In 1439 the people of Paris, partly from distrust of the constable's military administration, partly disgusted at Charles's indifference, complained that the king paid no more attention to the affairs of state than if he had been a prisoner of the Saracens.[2] Loud were the complaints of the States General, that is, of the respectable middle classes.

The popular dissatisfaction seems to have been encouraged by some of the princes of the blood, who were dissatisfied with their share in the government, among them, Bourbon and Alençon. The conspirators wished to get possession of Charles's person, as the duke of Burgundy and the Armagnacs used to fight for the possession of his father. Knowing that it was of the utmost importance to be able to speak in the king's name, Richemont and Charles of Anjou anticipated their rivals and carried Charles VII. from place to place, making him declare himself in the strongest terms opposed to the conspirators. The constable's energy and military skill triumphed, aided, no doubt, by the good sense of the French people, who were pleased at his energetic measures against the brigands. Throughout the whole affair both parties were clearly persuaded that Charles could be made to do anything desired by those who controlled his person. The attempts of 1426 and 1433 were repeated, though with happily different results.

In 1440, at the time of the Praguerie, Charles VII. was thirty-seven years old, and had reigned eighteen years. He was feeble in person, and timid even apart from war.[3] If it be true that during the first half of his reign he was the mere tool of others, it requires strong evidence to prove him a great constructive statesman in the later half. His new advisers, or masters, governed, on the whole, better and better, and they did not allow the king to pass the whole of his time in retirement. Very probably, Charles himself liked the change, and was not unwilling occasionally to show himself in public. In 1441 he again took the field, and published an account of his own per-

[1] See Beaucourt, iii. 50; Cagny, 106, verso.

[2] *Journ. Bourg.*, ann. 1439.

[3] See Beaucourt, iv. 87.

sonal bravery at the siege of Pontoise.[1] In 1442 there was another attempt by the princes of the blood to get control of the government, the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans having joined the malcontents. The object of the new conspirators appears plainly by their memorial to the king; it was the overthrow of the new state of affairs, in which the house of Anjou, the constable, and the bureaucratic middle classes governed the country, and a return to the old régime of pension, plunder, and privilege. This time there was no war. In Charles's name the bishop of Clermont replied to the malcontents, and these recognized their weakness. It seems to me that I find in this reply indications that what I have called the bureaucracy, men like the Des Ursins, Brézé, and Jacques Cœur were gaining power even at the expense of Charles of Anjou and the constable,[2] but all these were united to oppose the arrogant claims which Burgundy, Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon were united in making. To suppose that the king, who was the puppet of the struggle of 1440, really directed the course of affairs in 1442, would be absurd.

In 1442 the reform of the administration was firmly established. In 1442–43 there was a successful campaign in the southwest; the constable directed its operations, the king accompanied them. While there is no reason to suppose that Charles had any larger share in the government of 1443 than in that of 1433 or 1423, he must have been pleased at his new prosperity, probably became less morose and liked to appear in public instead of shunning it. I see no reason to attribute any part of this not very considerable change to Agnes Sorel, who became one of the royal favorites at about this time.

In 1444 came the truce with England, and in 1444–45 was undertaken the expedition against Metz, possibly in order to employ the men at arms who would otherwise have been ravaging the country. Charles took no part in the direction of the war, but at Nancy and at Châlons kept a court which was splendid, as befitted his bettered fortunes. Unfortunately, its morals had not improved with its increased state.[3] The king was still the

[1] Beaucourt, iii. 191.

[2] See Beaucourt, iv. 210.

[3] See the episode of the death of Margaret of Scotland. Beaucourt, iv. 106 et seq.

puppet of any one who controlled his person, and when, in 1446, the Dauphin Louis intrigued against his ministers, he did not take into account the danger of opposition from his father's will, but only the awe which the royal person might strike into some of the conspirators.[1] Philip of Burgundy said that Charles's true place was in a hermitage.[2]

In 1449 the war with England broke out again, and Charles accompanied his army in its triumphal progress through Normandy. When that campaign of a few months was over, however, even M. de Beaucourt admits that for several years Charles gave himself to pleasure, debauchery, and unworthy favorites, and he urges, in extenuation, that these favorites no longer governed France.[3] In truth, the government had now passed for the time into the hands of Brézé and men of his class, who kept Charles contented with money and mistresses, and ruled the kingdom, on the whole, pretty well. The guilt, if guilt there be, of destroying Jacques Cœur rests upon them, and not upon the king, whose name they used.

I have attempted to appreciate Charles's character, not to give an account of the events of his reign. The last six years of it, while reasonably prosperous for the kingdom, saw the king's health, never robust, give way altogether. His temper became constantly morose, he suspected all those about him, and at last is said to have hastened death by starving himself for fear of poison.

B. THE INSANITY OR INSPIRATION OF JOAN OF ARC.

The question most commonly asked about Joan of Arc, "Was she insane or inspired?" may seem to have received an insufficient answer in the text, and yet it is doubtful if any length of discussion will lead to an answer much more definite. The facts are few and, for the most part, undisputed; it is the inferences to be drawn from these facts which are in doubt. Joan had subjective sensations of sight and sound, perhaps of

[1] See Beaucourt, iv. 194.
[2] See Beaucourt, iv. 208.
[3] Beaucourt, v. 70.

other senses, without external cause sufficient to produce like sensations in others. Precisely what these sensations were, we do not know. The sensations of sounds sometimes, at least, were those of particular words; the sensations of sight were less definite, but apparently they were sometimes visions of definite forms in human similitude. The sensations of sound were usually accompanied by a somewhat indefinite sensation of light. Apart from these abnormal sensations, Joan seems to have been a girl perfectly healthy and well developed, both physically and mentally. Except so far as these sensations prove the contrary, she was little subject to exaltation or nervous excitement.

From these facts, the philosophy or opinion of the Middle Ages with certainty and without difficulty drew the conclusion of inspiration or possession, either by good spirits or evil. Mediæval philosophy did not deny the possibility of hallucination caused by disease without spiritual intervention. This possibility was recognized in Joan's case. The choice between disease and spirit as the cause of a given sensation was made according as the person, apart from the abnormal sensation under consideration, appeared diseased or healthy. An abnormal sensation in an otherwise healthy person was unhesitatingly set down to spiritual intervention, and hence Joan's visions and voices were set to the account either of God or the Devil.

Modern opinion or philosophy treats sensations like those mentioned as invariably the result of a morbid condition of the brain or some other part of the human body. The fact that the person shows other morbid symptoms is hardly deemed to strengthen this supposition of disease, which is considered to be incontrovertible and to need no support. Such sensations are called hallucinations, and hallucinations are considered symptoms of diseased or morbid conditions quite as infallible as a scurfy skin or a hemorrhage. Precisely what the disease is may require further investigation, and may elude investigation when made, but some disease or morbid condition is assumed without further proof.

Which of these two theories is correct, the modern or the mediæval, or how far either of them is correct, this is hardly the place to discuss. It is almost as difficult for an intelligent

man at the end of the nineteenth century to disregard the opinion or philosophy which I have called modern, as it would have been for a man in the fifteenth century to deny the possibility of spiritual possession. A few observations upon the modern theory may, however, be ventured.

In the first place, no one can define precisely what morbid physical condition of the brain or other part of the body is the cause of sensations like those of Joan. It is at least possible that no expert now living, though he should have the most favorable opportunity to perform a post-mortem examination of Joan's body, would be able to discover any morbid physical condition whatever to which her abnormal sensations could reasonably be attributed. We attribute sensations like hers to morbid physical conditions by analogy and by a sort of intellectual necessity, rather than by reason of a course of unvarying experiments.

Again, modern theory and usage tend more and more to make the terms "morbid" and "abnormal" synonymous. So far has this tendency carried us that writers have maintained in all seriousness that genius of pretty much any sort is the result of morbid physical conditions, and is a species of insanity. If this be admitted, Joan was almost certainly insane, inasmuch as, by the terms of the supposition, insanity is contrasted not with health and sense, but with stupidity and inferiority.

A consideration much more important than either of those just touched upon remains. Even if it be true that Joan's visions and voices were caused by physical conditions abnormal and therefore morbid, the discussion is not concluded. Every sensation, according to the accepted philosophy, must have a physical cause of some sort, but this axiom or hypothesis, or whatever else we may choose to call it, does not prevent many persons who accept it from believing that something which they call God does nevertheless play an important part in the affairs of men. In this place, of course, it is impossible to discuss if the belief in God be true. Whether true or not, it unquestionably exists, and those who hold it may believe as reasonably that God may send visions by the physical means of what we call disease, as that He maintained the American Union by the physical means of shot and shell, or inspired a poet or a prophet

by some physical means as yet undiscovered. The man who believes in God may, then, believe Joan to have been inspired, and, most probably, will believe it. The man who does not believe in God, by the terms of the supposition cannot believe her to have been inspired, in the ordinary meaning of the word.

What has been said concerning Joan's visions and voices applies substantially to her supposed gift of prophecy. She certainly foretold the deliverance of Orleans and the coronation at Rheims. There is no more doubt of the prophecy's authenticity than of its fulfillment, but any one may contend that good judgment or good luck, either or both, caused the fortunate prophecy, rather than Divine Providence. Moreover, it is practically certain that Joan believed that her voices promised her deliverance from prison, a real deliverance, and not the allegorical deliverance by death which some imaginative writers have construed as the fulfillment of the promise.

What I have called modern philosophy may admit the authenticity and fulfillment of all Joan's predictions, as it must admit the authenticity and fulfillment of some of them, without admitting her divine inspiration or that there is such a thing as divinity or inspiration in the universe. Those, on the other hand, who believe that Divine Providence exists will probably be inclined, though they may not be compelled, to find its workings in the life of Joan of Arc. Doubtless their theory of her inspiration will differ more or less from that in vogue in the fifteenth century, but this difference will be the result of a different theory of inspiration in general, rather than of a different theory of Joan's particular case.

It seems to follow, then, that our opinion concerning Joan's insanity or inspiration is likely to depend not much upon our beliefs concerning Joan, but principally upon our beliefs concerning insanity and inspiration in general. As this work does not pretend to treat of pathology, metaphysics, or theology, the matter must be left here.

C. JOAN OF ARC AND ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA.

In order to understand Joan of Arc, it is desirable to compare her with the visionaries and religious enthusiasts living near her time. Of these, St. Catherine of Siena is the most distinguished.

Catherine Benincasa was the child of a dyer, a respectable citizen of Siena, neither rich nor poor. Her brothers and sisters, as well as her parents, were commonplace people. Before she was ten years old she saw visions and heard voices, and, guided by them, she earnestly desired to follow the religious life. At one time she wished to disguise herself as a man, and become a Dominican monk.[1] Opposed by all those about her, she did not desert her father's house, but by a sweet passive obstinacy, drudging by day, watching and praying by night, before long she conquered her parents' consent, and was received as a Penitent of the Third Order of St. Dominic. Her vigils, fastings, and self-mortifications increased as her visions multiplied and became more intense, but she did not give herself up to a life of seclusion. If a man or woman were sick of a disorder so loathsome as to drive away all other help, Catherine became nurse, and aggravated the horrors of her nursing by the most fantastic self-torture. Her fame soon spread through her city and through Tuscany. She stopped the feuds of her townsmen, and made peace between cities.[2] By the counsel of her voices, she sought to end the Babylonish captivity of the church, traveled to Avignon, and helped bring the pope back to Rome. Though she had the most exalted notions of papal and ecclesiastical authority, she addressed individual popes and cardinals with the utmost boldness, and everywhere denounced the corruption of the church. She died in 1380, more than thirty years before Joan was born, but the world in which she lived, in its ideals and habits, was essentially the same as Joan's.

The resemblance of Catherine's career to that of Joan is striking. Both were members of large families of prosperous workpeople. None of the relatives of either had any quality of dis-

[1] *Acta Sanctorum: Vita S. Cat.*, 870 B, 871 B, 872 B.

[2] *Vita*, 903 E, 964 F, 921 A.

tinction. At an early age both girls had sensations of sight and of hearing which were not felt by their companions. Both were intensely religious. The parents of both tried to hinder their obedience to the heavenly vision. Both stood before kings, and were not ashamed. In the language of Catherine may be found an assurance not unlike that which is so characteristic of Joan. Both were inspired by the most unselfish zeal. St. Catherine undoubtedly is the perfect type of the sainted woman of the Middle Ages, and many have supposed that the same type is exemplified in Joan of Arc.

The difference between the two women, however, was considerable, both in body and mind. Joan was a sturdy peasant girl of good physique and sound constitution, keeping her health in spite of severe bodily and mental distress. Catherine was very frail, always ailing, and for many years unable to digest her food, that which was originally self-mortification having become at last a disease. Worn to a skeleton, she died before she was thirty-five. The ecstasies of Catherine, in which she saw her visions and heard her voices, have been described by more than one eye-witness. She used to fall into a swoon or trance, and was utterly unconscious of what went on about her, even when spoken to, or shaken; her body became quite rigid, and seemed so brittle that her friends feared she would break in two if handled roughly. Precisely what was Joan's appearance when her voices spoke to her is not known; no one has described it particularly, but this very fact shows that it cannot have been extraordinary. Among her neighbors at Domremy, while she was waiting at Vaucouleurs, Chinon, and Poitiers, on her campaigns, in prison at Beaurevoir, and many times a day at Rouen, even before her judges, Joan's voices spoke to her when curious people were watching her, and, if her visions had been accompanied by any physical disturbance, this certainly would have been recorded.

The mental difference between the two women was quite as considerable. Catherine was an extreme ascetic. The monk who wrote her life was undoubtedly credulous, but when ample allowance has been made for his exaggerations, there remains a true story of ingenious self-torture. As a child she flogged and starved herself. When a little older, she plunged herself

into hot water. She constructed for herself a bed on which sleep must have been painful, and fastened a chain about her waist next to her skin, in order to guard against passions which in her must have been imaginary. Ordinary neatness she considered a sin, and she was in great distress because she believed herself to love her sister too much. The punishments which she inflicted on herself for shrinking from loathsome disease cannot be told, they are themselves so loathsome.[1]

Joan was not an ascetic at all. As marked holiness was then considered impossible without self-mortification, some of Joan's admirers tried to make her out an ascetic, but they had scant success. She kept the fasts of the church, was moderate in eating and drinking, and loved constantly to pray, that was all. The archbishop of Rheims was able to complain of her wearing fine clothes,[2] a complaint which could not have been brought against Catherine by her most mendacious enemy. Perhaps the contrast between the two women appears most strongly in the vows of virginity made by both. Like every one else in the Middle Ages, Catherine believed that virginity was necessary to the saintliness for which she longed, and while she was yet a child she made her vow accordingly. Joan's beliefs were the same as Catherine's, but she thought comparatively little of her own saintliness; it was impossible for a married woman to do the work appointed her by heaven, and so she vowed to remain single until the work was done. "The pious girl," so wrote Catherine's biographer, "knew that a scanty diet and abstinence from food and drink were most useful and perchance even indispensable to the keeping of her maidenhood."[3] Joan's virginity, being a practical necessity and not a counsel of perfection, needed no such support. When Joan was disheartened she did not pine for the shelter of a convent; she longed only to go back to the valley of the Meuse and the life of a peasant girl in her father's house. Catherine would have thought such a longing earthly and gross, utterly unworthy one who desired to lead a saintly life, and Joan would probably have agreed with her, for Joan had no thought of becoming a saint, or even of

[1] *Vita*, 872 F, 876 F, 877 D, F, 879 D, 878 F, 888 D, 873 D, E, 901, 902, 898.

[2] See P. v. 168.

[3] *Vita*, 960 E.

leading a life especially holy. She had been bidden only to save France from the English.

Both Catherine and Joan were utterly obedient to their voices, and quite unselfish, but Catherine was morbidly self-conscious, while Joan hardly thought of herself at all. Catherine was willing to be damned to save others.[1] Joan could not have understood the idea, and so far as she could have understood it, would probably have thought it blasphemous. Catherine continually bewailed her faults in the most exaggerated language. "I know it is a sign of a well-disposed mind," wrote her biographer, "to discover a fault where there is none, and, where the fault is slight, greatly to exaggerate it." [2] This is a fair statement of the ascetic theory, and from that sort of "well-disposed mind" Joan was free. Her sin in trying to take her own life at Beaurevoir she treated with a fairness almost judicial. Only when she had been led to deny her voices, and so to give the lie to God himself, did she show the remorse which Catherine daily exhibited on no provocation whatever. Catherine was fond of telling her confessor about her visions, which generally concerned some special favor or privilege granted her by Christ, her heavenly spouse. Joan said little to any one about her voices, even to her confessor; only when it was necessary to accredit herself and to accomplish her mission did she speak. There can be small doubt that the little which she did tell her judges was told in the hope of convincing even them. That Joan was humbler than Catherine is not true, — no one could think more meanly of herself than did Catherine; but Joan thought wholly of other matters. From an agony of self-abasement Catherine passed to ecstatic visions, in which she received the stigmata, or the ring which was the proof of her marriage to Christ, or a new heart in place of her old one, having been literally heartless for a day or two. Nothing can be more remote than all this from the visions of Joan; these concerned almost altogether the work which she was called upon to do. Between the language of Catherine and that of Joan the difference is so great that no criticism can describe it; it can be appreciated only by reading both. To turn from one to the other is like passing from a greenhouse into the forest, from the Imitatio Christi to the New Testament. Cath-

[1] *Vita*, 866 A. [2] *Vita*, 873 D.

erine undoubtedly had a morbid mind in a diseased body. Unless her visions be conclusive proof of disease, Joan's mind and body alike were healthy.

D. THE PROPOSED CANONIZATION OF JOAN OF ARC.

In 1869 Mgr. Dupanloup, bishop of Orleans, delivered the annual sermon on Joan of Arc, and expressed the hope that she might be canonized. Immediately afterwards, twelve French bishops, who had been present at the sermon, addressed a letter to Pope Pius IX., praying that, after proper investigation, canonization might be granted. Bishop Dupanloup was thereupon requested to make preliminary inquiry in the usual form; but the Franco-German war intervened, and the inquiry was postponed until 1874–76, when the depositions of many witnesses were taken, principally regarding the reputation for holiness enjoyed by Joan in various parts of France for centuries. The result of this inquiry was forwarded to Rome, and was referred by the pope to Cardinal Bilio. Further explanation was asked of Bishop Dupanloup, but, before he could reply, he died, October 11, 1878. His successor, Bishop Coullié, continued Bishop Dupanloup's efforts and made many visits to Rome. He also directed a second preliminary inquiry, in which the testimony taken at Joan's two trials and other historical evidence were formally authenticated. Pope Leo XIII. seems to have interested himself somewhat more in the matter than did Pius IX., and the proper Roman tribunal proceeded with its usual deliberation to the further investigation of the case.

On January 27, 1894, the congregation of Sacred Rites, on the report of Cardinal Parocchi, voted to recommend that the commission for the introduction of the case,[1] so called, should be signed, which was immediately done by the pope. This action is the first step toward canonization, and confers upon Joan the title of "Venerable."

The desire for Joan's canonization in France has become national, at least among devout Catholics; and, even among those ordinarily indifferent to the Catholic church, patriotism has

[1] "Commissio introductionis causæ servæ Dei Joannæ d'Arc."

largely taken the place of a religious motive, and has led some to make of Joan's canonization almost a national political question. This feeling, of course, will insure a reasonably speedy and a sympathetic consideration of the question by the Roman tribunal. What will be the final decision is quite another matter.[1]

[1] See Sejourné, *La canonisation de J.;* ib., *Procès de l'ordinaire relatif à la béatification et canonisation de J.;* Ricard, *J. la Vénérable,* 272; Cochard, *La cause de J.;* Lecoy, *Culte de J.;* Beaudeau, *Analyse de l'ouvrage du Pape Bénoit XIV. sur les béatifications et canonisations,* in Migne, *Theologiæ Cursus,* viii. 854.

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